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Columbia University
*STUDIES IN ROMANCE PHILOLOGY AND
LITERATURE*

VERSIFICATION
OF THE
CUADERNA VÍA



VERSIFICATION
OF THE
CUADERNA VÍ

AS FOUND IN BERCEO'S
VIDA DE SANTO DOMINGO DE SILOS

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TO
HENRY ALFRED TODD
AND
ADOLPHE COHN

181650

PREFATORY NOTE

The present study is a minute and exhaustive investigation of the verse structure of Gonzalo de Berceo's thirteenth century *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*. It is the natural outgrowth of work concurrently done in the constitution of the text of this poem for the critical edition which was successfully submitted by Mr. Fitz-Gerald in 1902 for the title of *Élève diplômé de l'École pratique des Hautes Études*, and subsequently published in the *Bibliothèque* of the School. The significance for Romance scholarship of this study in versification rests largely in the fact that it is based on the solid foundation of a text critically established, and has been conducted by methods rigidly scientific and accurately applied.

HENRY ALFRED TODD.

Columbia University, February, 1905.

INTRODUCTION

The conclusions reached in this study are the results of observations made while constituting the text of my edition of Gonzalo de Berceo's *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*. It is with deliberate intent that I have not considered, except occasionally any other poems written in the *cuaderna vía*, inasmuch as the *Santo Domingo*, containing as it does 777 *coplas*, offers a sufficient body of material to serve as a working basis, and furthermore, the only poem in the *cuaderna vía* of which I have a critical edition based on more than one manuscript.

As a matter of fact we have very few scholarly editions of a kind (whether critical or merely diplomatic) of texts belonging to this style of poetry, and if I mistake not the following list is complete: Morf's edition of the *Poema de José*, according to the MS. in the National Library in Madrid¹; Ducamin's diplomatic edition of Juan Ruiz's *Libro de Buen Amor*²; Schmitz's edition of a transcription in Latin characters of Morf's edition of the *Poema de José* in Arabic characters³; Menéndez Pidal's edition of the *Poema de Yúçuf*, according to the MS. in the Library

1. *El Poema de José* nach der Handschrift der Madrider Nationalbibliothek herausgegeben von Heinrich Morf. Leipzig, Drugulin, in-4, 65 p. (Gratulationschrift der Universität Bern an die Universität Zürich zu deren fünfzigjähriger Stiftungsfeier vom 2. und 3. August, 1883.) The reproduction is in Arabic characters.

2. Ducamin, Jean; Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de Buen Amor*. Texte du XIV^e siècle, publié pour la première fois avec les leçons des meilleurs manuscrits connus. Bibl. méridionale, 1^{re} série, tome VI. Toulouse, 1901.

3. Schmitz, Michael; Über das Altspanische Poema de José, *Romanische Forschungen* XI (1901) 315-411. In addition to a study of the poem, Schmitz gives a transcription in Latin characters of Morf's earlier edition.

the Academy of History at Madrid ¹; Marden's edition of the *Poema de Fernan Gonçález* ²; and my own edition of Berceo's *Santo Domingo* ³. The editions of Morf, Schmitz, and Menéndez Pidal taken together furnish the material for a critical edition of the *Poema de Yûçuf*, but the critical edition has not yet been constituted, and even when made it will rest for the most part on a single manuscript, since the two manuscripts that have been preserved, while completing each other, overlap but little. The diplomatic edition of the Arcipreste de Hita by Ducamin, being based upon three manuscripts, whose readings it gives us, furnishes even more satisfactory means for making a critical edition, which is however still lacking. The edition of the *Poema de Fernan Gonçález* is critical, but it is based practically upon a single manuscript. Furthermore, I was unable to make use of Marden's text and his results, because his book appeared too late.

Another consideration that would have prevented my using any of these texts, except occasionally, is their late date. They are all, with the possible exception of *Yûçuf*, later than Berceo, even the *Fernan Gonçález* being any where from thirty to fifty years later. I am inclined to believe that the real *cuaderna vía* was so artificial that it soon degenerated from its proud boast

1. Menéndez Pidal, Ramón; *Poema de Yûçuf*, Materiales para su estudio. *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* (1902). Reprint, Madrid, 1902, 88 pp. The reproduction is in both Arabic and Latin characters.

2. Marden, C. Carroll; *Poema de Fernan Gonçález*. Texto crítico, con introducción, notas y glosario. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press., 1904.

3. *La Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos* par Gonzalo de Berceo. Édition critique publiée par John D. Fitz-Gerald. *Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études* fasc. 149. Paris, 1904. I ought perhaps to add to this list the tentative restoration by Pietsch of twenty-eight *coplas* chosen at random from the *Disticha Catonis* (Pietsch, Karl; Two Old Spanish Versions of the *Disticha Catonis* Chicago Univ. Press. Chicago. 1902, pp. 25-31.) It is, however, only a fragment, and, as Pietsch himself says, a first attempt. If the poem belong to the last half of the thirteenth century I see no objection to the admission of synalopha, as Pietsch has admitted it. This would put him in harmony with Marden's conclusions concerning *Fernan Gonçález*. Still, it may not be without interest to call attention to the fact that I have found it comparatively easy, in working over Pietsch's reconstruction, to eliminate all cases of synalopha. If the poem should prove to belong to the first half of the thirteenth century I should feel, in accord with the principles expounded in this study, that such procedure was necessary, whereas if the poem belong to the last half of the thirteenth century, I see no reason for objecting to Pietsch's reconstruction.

that it was *á silabas contadas*¹. This would account for our finding as early as *Fernan Gonçález* a limited admission of synaloepha, and indeed in the most natural of places in which to permit it, *viz.*, between identical vowels. This perhaps indicates the direction that was taken by the *cuaderna vía* in degenerating into the ordinary Alexandrine verse, while maintaining its four-lined monorime structure.

Although the verse used may in a sense be classed as an Alexandrine, it is not to be confused with the familiar Alexandrine, which permitted synaloepha. The term *cuaderna vía* is preferable because of this difference, and also for two other reasons: first, it is a term that seems to have been in current use among the poets themselves, as for example in the passage at the opening (*copla 2*) of the *Libro de Alejandre*:

Mester trago fermoso, non es de ioglaría,
Mester es sen peccado, ca es de clerezía,
Fablar curso rimado, per la *quaderna uia*,
A sillauas cuntadas, ca es grant maestría.

and second, it well indicates that the poetry in question is composed of (so-called) Alexandrines in couplets of four-verse

1. Antonio Restori, in his *Osservazioni sul metro, sulle assonanze e sul testo del Poema del Cid* (*Propugnatore* 20 (1887), *parte I*, pp. 97-158, *parte II*, pp. 109-164, 408-437), refuses, on pages 117-120 of part I, to grant weight to the phrase *á silabas contadas*. He cites, in support of that refusal, the well-known passage from the beginning of the *Poème de la Croisade* (see P. Meyer, *Romania* V (1876), p. 9):

Ore vos comencerei l'estoire qui mult est bien rimée,
Tute faite par metre, sanz sillabe fausée.

With all due regard for Restori's opinion, I still do not feel that we should grant to the expression *sanz sillabe fausée* the same weight that we accord to the phrase *á silabas contadas*. In the first place the French phrase is in all probability a mere cheville, whereas the position of the Spanish phrase prevents any such supposition concerning its purpose or presence in the passage. In the second place, the expression *sanz sillabe fausée* may be applied to any system of versification provided the verse be metrically *correct*, which is probably all the phrase means, even if we relieve it of the charge of being a mere cheville. On the other hand, the expression *á silabas contadas* is very precise, and I can not imagine its being applied to a system of versification which permitted at the caprice of the poet the counting or non-counting,

structure¹. That this kind of poetry was something new, we have, in addition to the passage just cited, the testimony of the *Libre de Appollonio*, couplet 1 :

En el nombre de Dios e de Santa María,
Si ellos me guiassen estudiar querria,
Conponer hun romance de *nueva maestría*,
Del buen Rey Apolonio e de su cortesía.

So far as known these are the only direct references to this kind of poetry occurring in the older literature. Information as to other references would be gratefully acknowledged.

The present study of the *cuaderna vía* is not concerned with many new problems, but its author has had the advantage of approaching whatever problems there are with new and more critical material. At the University of Santiago de Chile, Professor Federico Hanssen has worked indefatigably upon various problems of early Spanish versification, but the theories he advances and the conclusions he reaches are not always absolutely convincing. Still, working, as all Spanish scholars have been obliged to do heretofore, upon texts uncritical and unreliable, he is to be congratulated on having in so many instances divined the truth. My indebtedness to Professor Hanssen's numerous treatises is patent on every page of this study, and it is a pleasure to acknowledge it here.

It is believed that the following points have been demonstrated.

metrically, of every syllable. Furthermore, as Restori himself has pointed out, the passage from the *Poème de la Croisade* is doubly open to suspicion, inasmuch as, in the very verses in which the poet claims that his poem is metrically correct, we find one verse that has a grave first hemistich of ten syllables instead of the requisite seven. It is further to be remarked that the hemistich in question offers no possibility of synaloepha, so there can be no difference of opinion as to the number of syllables (metrical or actual) that it contains.

1. It is of interest to note that the passage just quoted furnishes the basis for another name that has frequently been applied to this kind of poetry; I mean *mester de clerecía*. This name is not without significance since it draws attention to the fact that the poets who wrote this poetry usually were members of the clergy. Another point that ought not to be passed over without some remark is the odd use of the word *via* in the term *cuaderna vía*. We might be tempted to translate the term by the « four-track » system, if that phrase were not so brazenly modern and Philistine.

The *cuaderna vía* consists of *coplas* of four verses in monorime; each verse consisting of two hemistichs; each hemistich containing six syllables if acute, seven if grave, and eight if *esdrújulo*, the verse thus containing anywhere from twelve to sixteen syllables. There is but one *metrical* accent in each hemistich, and it falls invariably upon the sixth syllable thereof. There may be other, rhetorical, accents, but their number and disposition are at the choice of the poet. Hiatus between words is absolutely obligatory and, consequently, synaloepha is just as rigorously forbidden. The poet was at liberty to use or not, as he chose, contraction, apocope, and aphaeresis (especially with impure *s*); and in certain well-defined cases the same liberty seems to have extended to syncope. The poet was practically unhampered in his use of dialysis and synizesis. Two classes of cases are found in which dialysis is not permissible: the diphthongs *ie* < ě, and *ue* < ů; and root diphthongs like Latin *au* in *claustra* and Germanic *ai* in *laid*. This liberty in the use of dialysis and synizesis extended to the endings of the imperfect indicative of verbs of the second and third conjugations and the endings of all conditionals. Accordingly the following sets of paradigms would probably represent the real state of things: *-ía, -ie, -ia, -ie, -iá, -ié*. There are also a few indications that the poet could even read *-iá, -ié*. The forms *grey, ley, rey* also show this dual syllabic value by the same license. A few other considerations, such as rime, assonance, and *encadenamiento* of couplets, have been grouped together in a final chapter.

In closing, it is my pleasant duty to express hearty thanks to Professor Henry-Alfred Todd, to Professor Alfred Morel-Fatio, and to Professor Ramón Menéndez Pidal for the help that they have cordially given me in all the various stages of the preparation of this study.

JOHN D. FITZ-GERALD

CHAPTER I. — THE STRUCTURE OF THE *Cuaderna Via*.

I. — GENERAL AND SYLLABIC STRUCTURE.

The *cuaderna via* consists of *coplas* of four verses in monorime. Each verse consists of two hemistichs. Each hemistich contains seven syllables if the hemistich is grave, or paroxytone (this is the normal hemistich); six syllables if the hemistich is acute, or oxytone; and eight syllables if it is *esdrújulo*, or proparoxytone. The verse may thus consist of twelve, thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen syllables, but there must always be an accent on the sixth syllable of each hemistich¹. This state of things makes possible the following combinations of verse structure:

(7 + 7) 1 a. *En el nonbre del Padre, que fizo toda cosa...*

(7 + 6) 10 a. *Serua alos parientes de toda uoluntat...*

(7 + 8) There is no indisputable case of this type in our poem. For possible cases see the list of indeterminable verses (pp. 10 ss.). A case in point would be a verse like the following:

Si a nuestro amigo ambos leales fuéramos...

(6 + 7) 27 d. *pastor fue Sant Mjllan e otros confessores...*

(6 + 6) 82 b. *nin que menoscabo dela su sanctidat...*

(6 + 8) No indisputable case. For possible cases see the list of indeterminable verses (pp. 10 ss.). A case in point would be a verse like:

Si al buen confessor ambos leales fuéramos...

(8 + 7) 34 c. *asmo de seer cleriyo, sauer bonas façañas...*

(8 + 6) 137 c. *sy esto te negassemos fariamos muy grant mal...*

1. The general question of accent is treated after the analysis of the syllabic composition of the verse (pp. 35 ss.).

(8 + 8) No indisputable case. For possible cases see the list of indeterminable verses (pp. 10 ss.). A case in point would be a verse like :

Si a nuestro buen clérigo ambos leales fuéramos...

Of course the absence of the 7 + 8, 6 + 8, and 8 + 8 types is due entirely to the difficulty of riming proparoxytones. The one *copla* that we might be most inclined to consider as showing unquestionably a proparoxytone rime is

752. *Sy durasse el libro nos avn duraríamos,
de fablar del buen Sancto no nos en noiariamos;
como salio el preso todo lo cantaríamos,
sy la lección durasse, Tu autem non diríamos.*

but for reasons that will appear later (chap. iv) even this *copla* must fall under the ban and be included in the list of indeterminable verses, q. v. (pp. 10 ss.). Following is the list of examples of all the different combinations throughout the poem under consideration¹.

A. — Perfect Verses.

Type 7 + 7.

1 a. En el nonbre del Padre, que fizo toda cosa...

1 a — 2 d	27 a, b, c	45 b, c, d	68 a — 69 c
3 a, c, d	28 a, b, c	46 a — 48 d	71 b, c, d
5 a — 7 d	29 b, d	49 a, c, d	72 a, c
9 a, b, d	32 a — 33 d	50 a, b, d	74 c, d
11 a, b, d	34 a, d	52 a, d	77 a, b, d
12 a, c	35 a, c	54 a, c, d	78 a — 79 d
13 b, c, d	36 a, b, c, d	56 a, b, c, d	83 a, d
15 a, b, d	37 a, d	57 b, c, d	84 a, b, c, d
17 a — 18 d	38 a, d	58 a, b, c, d	86 a, b, c, d
21 a — 23 d	39 a, b, c, d	59 a, c, d	90 a, c, d
25 a, b, d	42 b, d	60 a, b, c, d	92 a — 94 d
26 a, c, d	44 a, b, d	61 b — 66 d	95 c — 96 d

1. In the first occurrence of each type there is given the example as well as the reference: in all other cases only the reference.

98 a, b, c, d	180 a — 181 c	262 a, b, c	360 a — 361 d
102 a, c, d	182 a, c, d	264 a, b, c, d	365 a, b, d
103 b, c	183 b, d	265 a, b, d	367 a, b, c, d
104 b, c, d	184 a, b, c, d	268 b — 269 c	369 a — 370 d
105 b, c, d	188 a, c	270 a, b, c, d	372 a, b, c
106 a, b, c	190 a, b, c, d	273 a, b, c	374 b, d
107 d	191 a, b, d	274 a, b, c	375 a, b, c, d
108 a, c	193 a, b, c	275 b, c	377 a, b, c, d
110 a, b, c	197 a, b, c, d	276 a, c, d	379 a, b, c, d
113 a, b, d	198 a, c	277 b	381 a, b, c, d
114 a, b	199 a, b, d	278 a, d	382 a, b, d
115 a, b, c, d	201 a, c, d	279 a, c, d	383 b, c, d
116 b — 117 d	202 a — 203 d	280 b, d	386 a, b, c, d
121 a, b, d	204 b	281 a, b, c, d	388 b, d
122 a, b, c, d	205 a, b, d	283 a, b, d	390 a, b, c, d
124 a, b, c, d	206 b — 207 c	286 a, b, c, d	392 a, b, d
125 a, c, d	208 a — 209 d	288 b, d	393 a, d
128 a, b, c, d	210 a, b, d	290 a — 291 d	394 a, c, d
131 b, c, d	211 a, c	293 a, b, c, d	395 a, b, c, d
132 b — 136 d	213 a — 214 c	294 a, b, d	396 a, d
138 a, b, d	215 b — 216 d	295 a, b, c, d	401 a, c, d
139 a, b, c	219 a, b, c	297 a — 299 d	402 b, c, d
140 a, c	221 c, d	302 a, b, c	403 b — 404 c
141 b, c	223 a, b, c, d	303 a, b, d	406 a, b, c, d
142 d	226 a — 227 d	307 a, b, c	408 b, c, d
143 a, b, c	228 a, b, d	308 a, b, c	410 b, c, d
144 a — 145 d	230 b, c, d	309 a, b, c	412 a, b, c, d
146 b, d	231 a, c, d	310 a, b	414 a, b, c
147 a, b, d	232 a — 233 d	317 a, b, d	415 a, c, d
148 a, b, c, d	234 a, b, d	318 a, c, d	418 b, c, d
150 a — 152 d	235 a — 236 c	319 b, d	419 b, c, d
156 b, c, d	237 a, b, c	320 a — 321 d	423 a, b, c, d
157 a, b, d	238 b, c, d	323 a, b, c	424 a, c, d
159 a, b, c, d	239 a, b, c, d	324 a — 325 b	426 c, d
160 a, b, d	240 a, b, d	327 a — 329 c	430 a, b, c, d
161 a, b, d	242 a, c, d	330 a, b, c, d	431 a, b, d
162 a, b, d	243 a — 244 d	336 a, b, c, d	432 a, b, c, d
164 a, b, d	245 a, b, d	337 a, c, d	433 a, c, d
166 a, b, c, d	248 a, b, c, d	339 b, c, d	434 a, b, c, d
167 a, b, d	249 a, c, d	343 a — 344 d	435 a, c, d
168 a, b, c	250 a, b, d	347 a — 348 d	436 a, c, d
169 a, b, c, d	251 a, b, c, d	349 a, b, d	437 a, b, c, d
170 a, c, d	252 a, c	351 a, b, c	439 a, b, c, d
171 a, b, c, d	254 a — 255 c	352 a, d	441 a, b, c, d
173 b — 175 d	257 b, c, d	353 a — 356 d	445 a, b, c, d
179 b, d	259 a, c, d	359 a, c, d	448 a — 449 d

451 a, b, c, d	530 a, b, d	624 a, b, c, d	693 b, c, d
452 b — 453 d	531 a — 532 c	625 a, b, d	694 b, c, d
455 a, b, c, d	533 a, b, d	626 a, b, c, d	698 a, b, d
456 c, d	535 a — 537 d	627 b, c	699 a, b, c, d
457 a, c	539 c	628 a, b, c, d	700 a, d
458 a, b, c, d	540 a, b, c, d	630 a — 631 c	701 a — 702 d
459 a, c, d	542 a — 544 b	633 a, b	703 a, c, d
460 a, c	545 b — 546 d	634 a, c, d	704 a, b, c, d
461 a — 462 d	548 a, b, d	635 a, b, c	707 a, b, c, d
464 a, b, c, d	549 a, b, c, d	637 a, c, d	708 b, c, d
465 b, c	550 a, b, d	638 a, c, d	709 c, d
466 a, c, d	552 b — 553 c	639 c, d	710 a, c, d
467 a, b	554 a, b, c, d	642 a, b	711 a, b, c, d
468 a — 470 d	555 c — 556 d	643 a, b, c, d	713 a — 714 d
472 a, b, d	558 b, c, d	646 a, b, c, d	718 a
473 b — 475 d	561 a, b, c, d	647 a, b, d	722 a — 723 d
477 a, c, d	563 a, b, d	648 a, b, c	725 a, b, c, d
478 a, b, c	564 a — 565 c	650 a — 651 c	727 a, b, c, d
479 a, c, d	566 a, b, c	652 a, b, c, d	729 b, c, d
480 a, b, c, d	569 a, b, c, d	654 a, c, d	730 a, c, d
483 a — 485 d	572 a, b, d	655 a — 657 d	732 a — 733 c
490 a, b, c, d	573 a, b, c, d	659 a, b, c, d	734 b, c, d
493 a, c, d	575 a, b, c, d	660 a, b, d	737 a, c
494 b, c, d	580 b, c, d	662 a, b, c, d	738 a, b, c, d
495 a, b, c, d	582 a — 584 d	665 a, b, c, d	739 b, d
497 b, c, d	586 a — 588 c	666 b, c	741 a, c
500 a, b, c	590 a, b, c, d	667 a, b, d	742 a — 743 d
502 a, b, c, d	592 a, b, c, d	668 a, c, d	744 a, c, d
504 a, b, c, d	595 a, b, d	669 a, c, d	745 a, b, c, d
506 a	596 a, b, c, d	670 a, b, c, d	747 a, b, d
508 a, b, c	598 a, b, c	673 a — 675 d	748 a, b, c, d
509 a, b, d	599 a, b, c, d	676 b, c, d	753 a — 754 d
510 a, b, c, e	600 a, c, d	678 a, b	755 a, c, d
512 a, b, c	602 a, b, c, d	679 a, b	758 a, c, d
513 a, b, c, d	603 b, c, d	680 a, c, d	760 a — 761 d
515 a, b, c, d	604 a, b, d	681 a, b, c	763 a, b, c, d
517 b, c, d	605 b — 606 c	682 a, b, c, d	765 a
518 a, c, d	608 a — 611 c	685 a, c, d	767 a, b, c
519 a — 520 d	612 a, b, c	687 a, b, c, d	770 a, b, c, d
523 a, d	614 a — 615 d	688 a, c, d	774 b, c
524 a, b, d	617 a, b, d	689 a, c, d	776 a, b, c, d
525 a, c, d	618 a, b, c	690 b, c	
527 a — 529 a	621 a — 623 c	692 a, b, c, d	

Total of 7 + 7 = 1665.

Type 7 + 6.

10 a. Servia alos parientes de toda voluntat...

10 a, c, d	200 a, c, d	371 a, b, c, d	516 c, d
14 a, b, c, d	217 c — 218 d	373 a, b, c	521 a, b, c, d
16 a, b, c, d	222 a, b, c, d	380 a, b, c, d	522 c, d
19 a, b, c, d	229 a, b, c, d	384 a, b, c, d	534 a, b, d
20 a, c, d	246 a — 247 c	385 a, c, d	538 a, b, d
24 a, b, c, d	253 a, b, d	387 a, b, d	541 a, b, c, d
30 a — 31 d	258 a, b, c, d	391 a, b, c, d	547 a, b, c, d
40 a, c, d	261 a, b, c, d	397 a, b, d	551 a, b, c, d
51 a, c, d	263 a, b, c, d	398 a, b, c, d	559 a, b, c, d
55 a, b, c, d	266 b, d	399 a, c, d	560 c, d
75 a — 76 d	271 a, b, c, d	405 a, b, c	568 a, b, c
82 a, c, d	272 a, c, d	409 a, c, d	570 a, c, d
87 a — 88 c	282 a, b, d	411 a, c, d	571 a, b, c, d
89 b, d	287 a, b, c, d	416 a, b, c, d	574 a, b, c, d
91 a, d	289 a, b, c, d	417 a, d	576 a — 577 d
99 a, b, c, d	292 a, b, c, d	420 a — 422 c	579 a, b, c, d
107 a	296 a, b, c	425 b, c, d	581 d
109 a, c, d	300 b	427 a, b, c	585 a, b, c, d
111 a, b, c, d	301 a, b, c, d	428 a, b, c, d	589 b, c, d
112 a, b, d	304 a — 306 d	438 a, b, c, d	591 a, b, c, d
118 a, b, c, d	311 a — 313 c	440 a, b, c, d	593 a — 594 b
120 b, c, d	315 a, b, c, d	442 a, b, d	597 a, b, c
126 a, b, d	322 a, b, c, d	443 a, b, c, d	601 a, b, c, d
127 b, c	331 a — 332 d	444 a, c, d	607 a, b, c, d
130 a, b, c, d	333 b — 334 b	446 a, b, c	613 a, b, c, d
137 b, d	335 a, c, d	450 a, b, c, d	619 a, b, d
153 a, b, d	338 a, b, c	454 b, c	620 b, c, d
154 a — 155 c	340 a, b, c, d	463 a, b, c, d	632 a, b, d
158 a, b, d	341 a, b, d	471 a, b, c, d	636 a, b, c, d
163 a, b, c, d	342 a, b, c, d	476 a, b, c, d	641 a, b, c, d
176 a, b, c, d	345 a, b, d	486 a, b, c, d	644 a, b, d
177 b, d	346 a, b, c, d	487 b — 488 b	645 a, c, d
178 a, b, d	357 a, b, c, d	489 b, c, d	649 a, b, c, d
186 a, b, c, d	358 b, c	496 a, b, c	653 a, b, c, d
187 a, b, d	362 a, b, c	498 a, b	658 a, b, c, d
192 b, c, d	363 a, c, d	499 a, b, c, d	671 a, b, d
194 b, c, d	364 a, b, c, d	501 a, b, c, d	672 c
195 b, d	366 b, c, d	503 a, b, c, d	677 a, c, d
196 a, c, d	368 a, b, c, d	507 b, d	683 a, b, d

686 c, d	719 a	749 a, b, c, d	771 a, c, d
691 a, b, d	721 a, c, d	756 a, b, c, d	772 a — 773 d
695 c — 696 d	724 a, b, c, d	759 a, d	775 a, b, d
705 a, b, c	726 a, b, c	761 a, b, c, d	777 b, d
706 a, b, c, d	731 a, b, c	764 c, d	
711 a, b, c	740 b, c	766 a, b, c, d	
716 a — 717 d	746 b, c, d	768 a — 769 d	

Total of 7 + 6 = 670.

Type 7 + 8.

No indisputable cases of this type have been found. For possible cases see the list of indeterminable verses (pp. 10 ss.).

Type 6 + 7.

27 d. pastor fue Sant Mjllan e otros confesores.

27 d	204 c	307 d	415 b	550 c
51 c	206 a	310 c	424 b	552 a
71 d	234 c	339 a	426 a	565 d
74 b	236 d	349 c	436 b	603 a
83 b	245 c	359 b	456 a	625 c
131 a	250 c	388 c	460 d	693 a
146 c	251 b	392 c	478 d	694 a
170 b	275 a	401 b	506 b	700 c
198 d	294 c	402 a	533 c	744 b

Total of 6 + 7 = 45.

Type 6 + 6.

82 b. nin que menoscabo dela su sanctidad...

82 b	296 d	560 b	644 c	719 b, c, d
107 c	358 d	581 b	645 b	726 d
127 d	446 d	594 d	672 b	740 a, d
195 a	496 d	619 c	683 c	
271 b	498 c	632 c	695 b	

Total of 6 + 6 = 26.

Type 6 + 8.

There are no indisputable cases of this type. For possible cases see the list of indeterminable verses (pp. 10 ss.).

Type 8 + 7.

34 c. asmo de seer clerigo, sauer bonas façañas...

34 c	141 d	319 a	494 a	637 b
35 b	181 d	352 b	523 b, c	654 b
37 b	201 b	365 c	524 c	676 a
38 b, c	228 c	374 c	539 b	681 d
42 c	237 d	383 a	544 c	688 b
57 a	262 d	393 b	572 c	710 b
72 b	277 c, d	414 d	588 d	767 d
95 a, b	288 c	419 a	600 b	
116 a	318 b	467 c, d	633 d	

Total of 8 + 7 = 48.

Type 8 + 6.

137 c. sy esto te negassemos fariamos muy grant mal...

137 c	488 d	534 c	589 a	777 c
300 d	489 a	570 b	677 b	
487 a	522 a	581 a	686 b	

Total of 8 + 6 = 13.

Type 8 + 8.

No indisputable cases of this type can be found. For possible cases see the list of indeterminable verses (pp. 10 ss.).

Thus the poem, as we have been able to constitute the text, offers the following totals of cases that cannot be questioned: 7 + 7, 1665 verses; 7 + 6, 670 verses; 7 + 8, no verses; 6 + 7, 45 verses; 6 + 6, 26 verses; 6 + 8, no verses; 8 + 7, 48 verses; 8 + 6, 13 verses; 8 + 8, no verses.

To obtain such an enormous preponderance of cases of the 7 + 7 type (which, as was pointed out earlier in this chapter, is the normal type) we must of course have long sequences of this combination. Series of eight consecutive verses in the type 7 + 7 are frequent: 1 a — 2 d; 17 a — 18 d; 32 a — 33 d; 78 a — 79 d; 144 a — 145 d; 202 a — 203 d; 208 a — 209 d; 226 a — 227 d; 232 a — 233 d; 243 a — 244 d; 290 a — 291 d; 320 a — 321 d; 343 a — 344 d; 347 a — 348 d; 360 a — 361 d; 369 a — 370 d; 448 a — 449 d; 461 a — 462 d; 519 a — 520 d; 614 a — 615 d; 701 a — 702 d; 713 a — 714 d; 722 a — 723 d; 742 a — 743 d; 760 a — 761 d: altogether 25 series of eight consecutive verses in the type 7 + 7. There are two series of nine verses in this type: 527 a — 529 a; and 753 a — 755 a; one series of ten verses: 542 a — 544 b; and five series of eleven verses: 173 b — 175 d; 327 a — 329 c; 473 b — 475 d; 586 a — 588 c; 621 a — 623 c.

Series of twelve consecutive verses are also fairly frequent (there are twelve such): 5 a — 7 d; 21 a — 23 d; 46 a — 48 d; 92 a — 94 d; 150 a — 152 d; 297 a — 299 d; 468 a — 470 d; 483 a — 485 d; 535 a — 537 d; 582 a — 584 d; 655 a — 657 d; 673 a — 675 d.

Of fifteen verses there is but one series: 608 a — 611 c; and the same number is found of series of sixteen: 353 a — 356 d. Another series is nineteen verses long: 132 b — 136 d. The longest series of consecutive verses on this type contains twenty three verses: 61 b — 66 d.

In the type 7 + 6 we should naturally expect to find the sequences less numerous and less lengthy. The following points may not be entirely devoid of interest. There are three series of six consecutive verses: 217 c — 218 d; 593 a — 594 b; 695 c — 696 d. There are likewise three series of seven verses: 87 a — 88 c; 154 a — 155 c; 246 a — 247 c. Of eight verses there are no less than seven series: 30 a — 31 d; 75 a — 76 d;

331 a — 332 d; 576 a — 577 d; 716 a — 717 d; 768 a — 769 d; 772 a — 773 d. Two series of eleven verses are found: 311 a — 313 c; 420 a — 422 c. There is also one series of twelve consecutive verses: 304 a — 306 d. It is likewise worthy of note that of the fourteen verses, 331 a — 334 b, only one verse (333 a) fails to conform indisputably to the type, and that this verse, as well as the two verses following these fourteen (334 c, d) may from one point of view be considered as conforming thereto, in which case we should have a series of sixteen consecutive verses (331 a — 334 d) on the type 7 + 6.

The remaining types, as would be expected, offer no long series of any special interest.

B. — *Imperfect Verses.*

We come now to a consideration of the verses which show hemistichs that are hypermetrical or catalectic. These were all discussed and the emendations that I suggest were given in the corresponding chapter of the edition of *Santo Domingo*¹. There are 95 such verses. If the emendations there suggested be accepted, 24 of these verses will be cases that I have chosen to call indeterminable (see pp. 10-11), and the remaining 71 verses will fall into the following types.

7 + 7.

9 c	140 b	252 d	555 a	698 c
42 a	141 a	302 d	558 a	709 a, b
44 c	161 c	372 d	598 d	718 b, c
52 b	191 c	460 b	617 c	730 b
61 a	204 d	473 a	618 d	733 d
77 c	211 b	493 b	623 d	737 b, d
103 d	221 b	525 b	642 c	741 d
114 c	238 a	548 c	685 b	747 c

Total 7 + 7 = 43.

1. Chap. v, pp. xxxj-xxxix. The complete list of these hemistichs is also given in chap. II of the present work, but without the emendations.

$$7 + 6.$$

10 b	266 a	362 d	507 a	672 a
126 c	300 a	387 c	516 a	712 d
137 a	313 d	417 c	522 b	731 d
217 b	335 b	442 c	538 c	764 b
247 d	345 c	498 d	671 c	771 b

$$\text{Total } 7 + 6 = 25.$$

$$6 + 7.$$

268 a	509 c	734 a
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$$\text{Total } 6 + 7 = 3.$$

There are no cases that fall into the other categories. Thus, among the 71 imperfect verses that do not fall into the indeterminable class we should have the following totals: $7 + 7$, 43 verses; $7 + 6$, 25 verses; $6 + 7$, 3 verses. These added to the totals from the perfect verses give us the following grand totals, exclusive of the indeterminable verses: $7 + 7$, 1708 verses; $7 + 6$, 695 verses; $7 + 8$, no verses; $6 + 7$, 48 verses; $6 + 6$, 26 verses; $6 + 8$, no verses; $8 + 7$, 48 verses; $8 + 6$, 13 verses; $8 + 8$, no verses.

It will thus be seen that the normal type ($7 + 7$) represents between 54 % and 55 % of the entire poem: but if the indeterminable verses (572 in number) be deducted from the poem, we find that the normal type represents between 67 % and 68 % of the determinable verses of the work.

C. — *Indeterminable Verses.*

A fairly long list of verses I have chosen not to assign to any one type. They are verses in which either or both hemistichs end in a word like *gracia*, *servicio*, *temerario*, *bullicio*, *iglesia*, etc., (words which are paroxytone or proparoxytone accord-

ing as one considers that the last two letters represent one or two syllables¹); in the words *grey*, *ley*, *rey* (which are oxytone or paroxytone according as one considers them to be monosyllables or dissyllables); or in forms of the imperfect indicative or the conditional of the II and III conjugations and in verbal forms like *sea*, *lea*; and in nouns and adjectives like *Maria*, *dia*, *rio*, *frio*: because in these last cases there are several possibilities of accentuation and syllabic value². An examination of the following list, which I have decided to call Indeterminable Verses, will bring out more clearly what is meant. In it I assign each verse to all the various types to which it seems to be assignable and indicate the several syllabic values and accentuations that seem possible. The list includes those of the hypermetrical or catalectic verses which, when corrected, fall naturally into this same category. In citing a verse the following rule is observed: 4 a' would indicate that the word treated terminates the first hemistich of the first verse of *copla* 4; 5 b'' would indicate that the word treated terminates the second hemistich of the second verse of *copla* 5; 6 c would indicate that the words treated terminate respectively the first and the second hemistichs of the third verse of *copla* 6: in other words the number indicates the *copla*, the letter indicates the whole verse (both hemistichs), unless one of the two hemistichs be pointed out by means of the prime or second mark³.

3 b'. ystóri-a (8 + 7); ystória (7 + 7).

4 a'. Dí-os (7 + 7); Díos, Díós (6 + 7).

b'. préçi-o (8 + 7); préçio (7 + 7).

1. Vide pp. 28-35.

2. For further proof of these possibilities see Pietsch, *Two Old Spanish Versions of the Disticha Catonis*, Chicago, 1902, p. 25, note 83 (where the rimes *nos — dios — jodios — vos*, J. RUIZ 1193 and *jodios — nos — dios — tos*, J. RUIZ 1657 are cited); and Hanssen, *Metrische Studien zu Alfonso und Berceo*, Valparaiso, 1903, p. 35.

3. When contiguous vowels count for separate syllables they are separated by a hyphen: e. g. *grá-ci-a*; but when contiguous vowels count for but one syllable they are printed without separation: e. g. *grá-cia*. In the first case the form counts for three syllables, and in the second it counts for but two. The position of the accent is given in all cases.

- 4 *c'*. lazéri-o (8 + 7); lazério (7 + 7).
d'. serujci-o (8 + 7); serujcio (7 + 7).
 8 *a''*. sabrí-a (7 + 7); sabría; sabriá (7 + 6)¹.
b''. devinarí-a (7 + 7); devinaria, devinariá (7 + 6).
c''. Marí-a (7 + 7); Maria, Mariá (7 + 6).
d''. uí-a (7 + 7); uía, uiá (7 + 6).
 11 *c'*. dí-as (7 + 7); días, diás (7 + 6).
 12 *b'*. folí-as (7 + 7); folias, foliás (6 + 7).
d'. folí-as (7 + 7); folias, foliás (6 + 7).
 13 *a'*. dí-a (7 + 7); día, diá (6 + 7).
 15 *c'*. dí-as (7 + 7); días, diás (6 + 7).
 20 *b'*. fari-a (7 + 6); faria, fariá (6 + 6).
 25 *c'*. gré-y (7 + 7); gréy (6 + 7).
 26 *b'*. sacrifici-o (8 + 7); sacrificio (7 + 7).
 28 *d'*. offiçi-o (8 + 7); offício (7 + 7).
 29 *a'*. préçi-o (8 + 7); preço (7 + 7).
c'. Ré-y (7 + 7); Réy (6 + 7).
 34 *b'*. gré-y (7 + 7); gréy (6 + 7).
 35 *d'*. (i)glési-a (8 + 7); (i)glésia (7 + 7).
 37 *c'*. dí-a (7 + 7); día, diá (6 + 7).
 40 *b'*. mançebi-a (7 + 6); mançebía, mançebiá (6 + 6).
 41 *a''*. senténçi-as (7 + 8); sentências (7 + 7).
b. uigili-as (8 + 7); uigílias (7 + 7); abstinénçi-as (7 + 8);
 abstinências (7 + 7). This makes possible the combinations
 8 + 8, 8 + 7, 7 + 8, 7 + 7.
c''. falénçi-as (7 + 8); falências (7 + 7).
d''. conuenjénçi-as (7 + 8); conuenjências (7 + 7).
 43 *a''*. nouiçi-o (7 + 8); nouício (7 + 7).
b''. offiçi-o (7 + 8); offício (7 + 7).
c. iglési-a (8 + 7); iglésia (7 + 7); seruiçi-o (7 + 8); seruício
 (7 + 7). This makes possible the combinations 8 + 8,
 8 + 7, 7 + 8, 7 + 7.
d''. ujçi-o (7 + 8); ujcio (7 + 7).
 45 *a'*. iglési-a (8 + 7); iglésia (7 + 7).
 49 *b'*. médi-o (8 + 7); médio (7 + 7).
 50 *c'*. cobdiçi-a (8 + 7); cobdicia (7 + 7).
 51 *b'*. querri-a (7 + 6); querria, querriá (6 + 6).
 53 *a''*. seruiçi-o (7 + 8); seruício (7 + 7).
b''. uiçi-o (7 + 8); uício (7 + 7).

1. For a discussion of such assignments as these see pp. 68-87.

- 53 *c'*. cobdiçi-o (7 + 8); cobdício (7 + 7).
d'. Siçi-o (7 + 8); Siçio (7 + 7).
 54 *b'*. iglési-a (8 + 7); iglésia (7 + 7).
 59 *b'*. Biliuj-o (8 + 7); Biliujo (7 + 7).
 67 *a''*. lazéri-o (7 + 8); lazério (7 + 7).
b''. psaltéri-o (7 + 8); psaltério (7 + 7).
c''. mñnjstéri-o (7 + 8); mñnjstério (7 + 7).
d''. refrigéri-o (7 + 8); refrigério (7 + 7).
 69 *d'*. lazéri-o (8 + 7); lazério (7 + 7).
 70 *a*. lazéri-o (8 + ?); lazério (7 + ?); dí-as (? + 7); diás, diás (? + 6). This makes possible the combinations 8 + 7, 8 + 6, 7 + 7, 7 + 6.
b''. fantási-as (7 + 7); fantasías, fantasiás (7 + 6).
c''. Elí-as (7 + 7); Elías, Eliás (7 + 6).
d''. chiriui-as (7 + 7); chiriuiás, chiriuiás (7 + 6).
 71 *a'*. negligenci-a (8 + 7); negligência (7 + 7).
 73 *a''*. hermjtanj-a (7 + 7); hermjtanja, hermjtanjá (7 + 6).
b''. sabi-a (7 + 7); sabía, sabiá (7 + 6).
c''. querri-a (7 + 7); querria, querriá (7 + 6).
d''. abri-a (7 + 7); abría, abriá (7 + 6).
 74 *a'*. lazéri-os (8 + 7); lazérios (7 + 7).
 80 *a''*. lazéri-o (7 + 8); lazério (7 + 7).
b''. remédi-o (7 + 8); remédio (7 + 7).
c''. médi-o (7 + 8); médio (7 + 7).
d. uíçi-o (8 + ?); uício (7 + ?); comédi-o (? + 8); comédio (? + 7). This makes possible the combinations 8 + 7, 8 + 6, 7 + 8, 7 + 7.
 81 *a''*. prémj-a (7 + 8); prémja (7 + 7)¹.
b''. liçenci-a (7 + 8); liçência (7 + 7).
c''. obedi-enci-a (7 + 8); obedi-ência (7 + 7).
d''. potenci-a (7 + 8); potência (7 + 7).
 83 *c'*. mongí-a (7 + 7); mongía, mongiá (6 + 7).
 85 *a*. Dí-os (7 + ?); Díos, Diós (6 + ?); Mari-a (? + 7); María, Mariá (? + 6). This makes possible the combinations 7 + 7, 7 + 6, 6 + 7, 6 + 6.

1. The classification of the mss. forced me to adopt this reading, which gives a verse that is metrically correct, but destroys the rime. As suggested in my chapter of proposed emendations I should prefer the reading

por que uiniesse aen en mayor penitencia.

This would give the same metrical possibilities as *prenja* for the second hemistich, and would restore the rime.

- 85 *b'*. mongí-a (7 + 7); mongía, mongiá (7 + 6).
c'. uj-a (7 + 7); uja, ujá (7 + 6).
d'. folí-a (7 + 7); folia, foliá (7 + 6).
- 88 *d'*. iglési-a (8 + 6); iglésia (7 + 6).
- 89 *a'*. mánu-um (8 + 6); mánuum (7 + 6).
c'. ioglerí-a (7 + 6); ioglería, iogleriá (6 + 6).
- 90 *b'*. obedi-énci-a (8 + 7); obedi-ência (7 + 7).
- 91 *b'*. iglési-a (8 + 6); iglésia (7 + 6).
c'. dí-as (7 + 6); días, diás (6 + 6).
- 97 *a'*. dí-a (7 + 7); día, diá (7 + 6).
b'. Marí-a (7 + 7); María, Mariá (7 + 6).
c'. uazí-a (7 + 7); uazia, uaziá (7 + 6).
d'. baylí-a (7 + 7); baylía, bayliá (7 + 6).
- 100 *a'*. cobdíci-o (7 + 8); cobdício (7 + 7).
b'. bollíci-o (7 + 8); bollício (7 + 7).
c'. seruíci-o (7 + 8); seruício (7 + 7).
d'. propíci-o (7 + 8); propício (7 + 7).
- 101 *a'*. gráci-a (8 + 3); grácia (7 + 3); obedi-énci-a (3 + 8); obedi-ência (3 + 7). This makes possible the combinations 8 + 8, 8 + 7, 7 + 8, 7 + 7.
b'. penjténci-a (7 + 8); penjtência (7 + 7).
c'. falénci-a (7 + 8); falência (7 + 7).
d'. ixirí-a (7 + 3); ixiría, ixiriá (6 + 3); mantenénci-a (3 + 8); mantenência (3 + 7). This makes possible the combinations 7 + 8, 7 + 7, 6 + 8, 6 + 7.
- 102 *b'*. farí-a (7 + 7); faría, fariá (6 + 7).
- 103 *a'*. seruíci-o (8 + 7); seruício (7 + 7).
- 104 *a'*. monestéri-o (8 + 7); monestério (7 + 7).
- 105 *a'*. Marí-a (7 + 7); María, Mariá (6 + 7).
- 106 *d'*. ganánci-a (8 + 7); ganância (7 + 7).
- 107 *b'*. lazéri-o (8 + 6); lazério (7 + 6).
- 108 *b'*. iglési-a (8 + 7); iglésia (7 + 7).
d'. comédi-o (8 + 7); comédio (7 + 7).
- 109 *b'*. ué-a (7 + 6); uéa, ueá (6 + 6).
- 110 *d'*. gráci-as (8 + 7); grácias (7 + 7).
- 111 *c'*. portídi-a (8 + 6); portidia (7 + 6).
- 113 *c'*. Monastéri-o (8 + 7); Monastério (7 + 7).
- 114 *d'*. monestéri-o (8 + 7); monestério (7 + 7).
- 119 *a'*. paçi-énci-a (7 + 8); paçi-ência (7 + 7).
b'. obedi-énci-a (6 + 8); obedi-ência (6 + 7).
c'. sullfrénci-a (7 + 8); sullfrência (7 + 7).

- 119 *d''*. fallénçï-a (7 + 8); fallénçia (7 + 7).
 120 *a'*. gráci-a (8 + 6); grácia (7 + 6).
 121 *c'*. dizí-a (7 + 7); dizía, diziá (6 + 7).
 123 *a''*. carterári-o (7 + 8); carterário (7 + 7).
 b''. merçenári-o (7 + 8); merçenário (7 + 7).
 c''. contrári-o (7 + 8); contrário (7 + 7).
 d''. sanctu-ári-o (7 + 8); sanctu-ário (7 + 7).
 125 *b'*. gré-y (7 + 7); gréy (6 + 7).
 127 *a'*. Garçi-a (7 + 6); Garçia, Garçiá (6 + 6).
 129 *a''*. cauallerí-a (7 + 7); caualleria, caualleriá (7 + 6).
 b''. bispallí-a (7 + 7); bispallía, bispalliá (7 + 6).
 c. iglésia (8 + 3); iglésia (7 + 3); Mari-a (3 + 7); María, Mariá (3 + 6). This makes possible the combinations 8 + 7, 8 + 6, 7 + 7, 7 + 6.
 d. seruíçi-o (8 + 3); seruíçio (7 + 3); dí-a (3 + 7); día, diá (3 + 6). This makes possible the combinations 8 + 7, 8 + 6, 7 + 7, 7 + 6.
 132 *a'*. Ré-y (7 + 7); Réy (6 + 7).
 138 *c'*. seruíçi-o (8 + 7); seruíçio (7 + 7).
 139 *d'*. ju-ýzi-o (8 + 7); ju-ýzio (7 + 7).
 140 *d'*. sacrilégi-o (8 + 7); sacrilégio (7 + 7).
 142 *a'*. Ré-y (7 + 7); Réy (6 + 7).
 b'. Ré-y (7 + 7); Réy (6 + 7).
 c'. silénçi-o (8 + 7); silénçio (7 + 7).
 143 *d'*. liçénçï-a (8 + 7); liçénçia (7 + 7).
 146 *a'*. Ré-y (7 + 7); Réy (6 + 7).
 147 *c'*. dizí-a (7 + 7); dizía, diziá (6 + 7).
 149 *a''*. felloní-a (7 + 7); fellonía, telloniá (7 + 6).
 b''. dí-a (7 + 7); día, diá (7 + 6).
 c''. Mari-a (7 + 7); María, Mariá (7 + 6).
 d''. canbiarí-a (7 + 7); canbiaríá, canbiariá (7 + 6).
 153 *c'*. Euangéli-o (8 + 6); Euangélio (7 + 6).
 155 *d'*. Ré-y (7 + 6); Réy (6 + 6).
 156 *a'*. Ré-y (7 + 7); Réy (6 + 7).
 157 *c'*. offiçi-o (8 + 7); offiçio (7 + 7).
 158 *c'*. Ré-y (7 + 6); Réy (6 + 6).
 160 *c'*. monestéri-o (8 + 7); monestério (7 + 7).
 162 *c'*. auj-a (7 + 7); auja, aujá (6 + 7).
 164 *c'*. Ré-y (7 + 7); Réy (6 + 7).
 165 *a'*. Garçi-a (6 + 7); Garçia, Garçiá (6 + 6).
 b''. Abbadí-a (7 + 7); Abbadía, Abbadíá (7 + 6).

- 165 *c''*. cuydari-a (7 + 7); cuydaria, cuydaria (7 + 6).
d''. seri-a (7 + 7); seria, seria (7 + 6).
 167 *c'*. Ré-y (7 + 7); Réy (6 + 7).
 168 *d'*. Pri-ori-a (7 + 7); Pri-oria, Pri-oria (6 + 7).
 172 *a*. gráci-a (8 + ?); grácia (7 + ?); merescí-a (? + 7); merescía.
 meresciá (? + 6). This makes possible the combinations
 8 + 7, 8 + 6, 7 + 7, 7 + 6.
b''. auí-a (7 + 7); auía, auía (7 + 6).
c''. tenj-a (7 + 7); tenja, tenjá (7 + 6).
d''. querí-a (7 + 7); queria, queriá (7 + 6).
 173 *a'*. Ré-y (7 + 7); Réy (6 + 7).
 177 *a'*. Ré-y (7 + 6); Réy (6 + 6).
c'. Abbadí-a (7 + 6); Abbadia, Abbadia (6 + 6).
 178 *c'*. própri-o (8 + 6); próprio (7 + 6).
 179 *a'*. Ré-y (7 + 7); Réy (6 + 7).
c'. ypocrisí-as (7 + 7); ypocrisías, ypocrisiás (6 + 7).
 182 *b'*. fri-as (7 + 7); frias, friás (6 + 7).
 183 *a'*. Ré-y (7 + 7); Réy (6 + 7).
c'. conosçénci-a (8 + 7); conosçência (7 + 7).
 185 *a''*. ujuj-a (7 + 7); ujuja, ujujá (7 + 6).
b''. podi-a (7 + 7); podía, podiá (7 + 6).
c''. hermjtanj-a (7 + 7); hermjtanja, hermjtanjá (7 + 6).
d''. Mari-a (7 + 7); Maria, Mariá (7 + 6).
e. Ré-y (7 + ?); Réy (6 + ?); mj-a (? + 7); mja, mja (? + 6). This
 makes possible the combinations 7 + 7, 7 + 6, 6 + 7, 6 + 6.
 187 *c'*. monestéri-o (8 + 6); monestério (7 + 6).
 188 *b'*. ministéri-o (8 + 7); ministério (7 + 7).
d'. auj-an (7 + 7); aujan, auján (6 + 7).
 189 *a'*. falénçi-a (7 + 8); falência (7 + 7).
b''. negligénci-a (7 + 8); negligência (7 + 7).
c''. senténçi-a (7 + 8); sentença (7 + 7).
d''. honorificénci-a (7 + 8); honorificência (7 + 7).
 192 *a'*. iglési-a (8 + 6); iglésia (7 + 6).
 193 *d'*. monestéri-o (8 + 7); monestério (7 + 7).
 194 *a'*. sé-a (7 + 6); sea, seá (6 + 6).
 195 *c'*. monestéri-o (8 + 6); monestério (7 + 6).
 196 *b'*. martiri-o (8 + 6); martirio (7 + 6).
 198 *b'*. monestéri-o (8 + 7); monestério (7 + 7).
 199 *c'*. Ré-y (7 + 7); Réy (6 + 7).
 200 *b'*. monestéri-o (8 + 6); monestério (7 + 6).
 204 *a'*. monestéri-o (8 + 7); monestério (7 + 7).

- 205 *c'*. cre-énçi-a (8 + 7); cre-énçia (7 + 7).
 207 *d'*. monestéri-o (8 + 7); monestério (7 + 7).
 210 *c'*. iglési-a (8 + 7); iglésia (7 + 7).
 211 *d'*. obedi-énçi-a (8 + 7); obedi-énçia (7 + 7).
 212 *a''*. mñnjstéri-o (7 + 8); mñnjstério (7 + 7).
 b''. monestéri-o (7 + 8); monestério (7 + 7).
 c''. çimintéri-o (7 + 8); çimintério (7 + 7).
 d''. lazéri-o (7 + 8); lazério (7 + 7).
 214 *d'*. Ré-y (7 + 7); Réy (6 + 7).
 215 *a'*. Abadí-a (7 + 7); Abadía, Abadiá (6 + 7).
 217 *a'*. dí-as (7 + 6); días, diás (6 + 6).
 219 *d'*. gráçi-as (8 + 7); grácias (7 + 7).
 220 *a''*. adjutóri-o (7 + 8); adjutório (7 + 7).
 b. iglési-a (8 + ?); iglésia (7 + ?); reffitóri-o (? + 8); reffitório (? + 7). This makes possible the combinations 8 + 8, 8 + 7, 7 + 8, 7 + 7.
 c. vistu-ári-o (8 + ?); vistu-ário (7 + ?); dormjtóri-o (? + 8); dormjtório (? + 7). This makes possible the combinations 8 + 8, 8 + 7, 7 + 8, 7 + 7.
 d. officiéri-o (8 + ?); officiério (7 + ?); responsóri-o (? + 8); responsório (? + 7). This makes possible the combinations 8 + 8, 8 + 7, 7 + 8, 7 + 7.
 221 *a'*. monestéri-o (8 + 7); monestério (7 + 7).
 224 *a''*. paçi-énçi-a (7 + 8); paçi-énçia (7 + 7).
 b''. obedi-énçi-a (7 + 8); obedi-énçia (7 + 7).
 c''. fallénçi-a (7 + 8); fallénçia (7 + 7).
 d''. querénci-a (7 + 8); querénçia (7 + 7).
 225 *a''*. suffri-a (7 + 7); suffría, suffriá (7 + 6).
 b''. fazí-a (7 + 7); fazía, faziá (7 + 6).
 c''. meresçi-a (7 + 7); meresçia, meresçia (7 + 6).
 d''. abrí-a (6 + 7); abría, abriá (6 + 6).
 230 *a'*. rí-os (7 + 7); ríos, riós (6 + 7).
 231 *b'*. médi-o (8 + 7); médio (7 + 7).
 240 *c'*. obedi-énçi-a (8 + 7); obedi-énçia (7 + 7).
 241 *a''*. Marí-a (6 + 7); María, Mariá (6 + 6).
 b. iglési-a (8 + ?); iglésia (7 + ?); guí-a (? + 7); guía, guíá (? + 6). This makes possible the combinations 8 + 7, 8 + 6, 7 + 7, 7 + 6.
 c. monestéri-o (8 + ?); monestério (7 + ?); meiori-a (? + 7); meioría, meioriá (? + 6). This makes possible the combinations 8 + 7, 8 + 6, 7 + 7, 7 + 6.

- 241 *d'*. enbí-a (7 + 7); enbía, enbiá (7 + 6).
 242 *b'*. monestéri-o (8 + 7); monestério (7 + 7).
 249 *b'*. glóri-a (8 + 7); glória (7 + 7).
 253 *c'*. offici-os (8 + 6); officios (7 + 7).
 255 *d'*. martíri-o (8 + 7); martirio (7 + 7).
 256 *a''*. obedi-énçi-a (7 + 8); obedi-énçia (7 + 7).
 b''. poténçi-a (7 + 8); poténçia (7 + 7).
 c''. paçi-énçi-a (7 + 8); paçi-énçia (7 + 7).
 d''. penjténçi-a (7 + 8); penjténçia (7 + 7).
 257 *a'*. Mongí-a (7 + 7); Mongía, Mongiá (6 + 7).
 259 *b'*. gráci-as (8 + 7); grácias (7 + 7).
 260 *a''*. ledanj-a (7 + 7); ledanja, ledanjá (7 + 6).
 b. préçi-o (8 + ?); preço (7 + ?); Marí-a (? + 7); María,
 Mariá (? + 6). This makes possible the combinations
 8 + 7, 8 + 6, 7 + 7, 7 + 6.
 c''. profexí-a (7 + 7); profexía, profexiá (7 + 6).
 d''. conosçi-a (7 + 7); conosçia, conosçiá (7 + 6).
 265 *c'*. monestéri-o (8 + 7); monestério (7 + 7).
 266 *c'*. monestéri-o (8 + 6); monestério (7 + 6).
 267 *a''*. ministéri-o (7 + 8); ministério (7 + 7).
 b''. préçi-o (8 + 8); preço (8 + 7).
 c''. çimintéri-o (7 + 8); çimintério (7 + 7).
 d''. monestéri-o (7 + 8); monestério (7 + 7).
 269 *d'*. señóri-o (7 + 7); señório, señorió (6 + 7).
 273 *d'*. captenénçi-as (8 + 7); captenências (7 + 7).
 274 *d'*. alegrí-a (7 + 7); alegria, alegriá (6 + 7).
 275 *d'*. gráci-as (8 + 7); grácias (7 + 7).
 276 *b'*. reliqui-as (8 + 7); reliquias (7 + 7).
 277 *a'*. monestéri-o (8 + 7); monestério (7 + 7).
 278 *b'*. enbí-an (7 + 7); enbían, enbián (6 + 7).
 c'. enbí-an (7 + 7); enbían, enbián (6 + 7).
 279 *b'*. gráci-as (8 + 7); grácias (7 + 7).
 280 *a'*. reliqui-as (8 + 7); reliquias (7 + 7).
 c'. monestéri-o (8 + 7); monestério (7 + 7).
 282 *c'*. reliqui-as (8 + 6); reliquias (7 + 6).
 283 *c'*. reliqui-as (8 + 7); reliquias (7 + 7).
 284 *a''*. dizí-a (7 + 7); dizía, diziá (7 + 6).
 b''. auí-a (7 + 7); auía, auiá (7 + 6).
 c''. entendí-a (7 + 7); entendía, entendiá (7 + 6).
 d. prophecí-a (7 + ?); prophecía, prophecíá (6 + ?);
 cayrí-a (? + 7); cayría, cayriá (? + 6). This makes

possible the combinations 7 + 7, 7 + 6, 6 + 7, 6 + 6.

- 285 *a''*. udí-an (7 + 7); udían, udián (7 + 6).
b''. tenj-an (7 + 7); tenjan, tenján (7 + 6).
c''. auj-an (7 + 7); aujan, auján (7 + 6).
d''. serí-an (7 + 7); serían, serián (7 + 6).
 288 *a'*. gráci-as (8 + 7); grácias (7 + 7).
 300 *c'*. glési-a (8 + 6); glésia (7 + 6).
 303 *c'*. gráci-a (8 + 7); grácia (7 + 7).
 308 *d'*. dí-a (7 + 7); día, diá (6 + 7).
 309 *d'*. seruíci-os (8 + 7); seruícios (7 + 7).
 310 *d'*. gráci-a (8 + 7); grácia (7 + 7).
 314 *a''*. mongí-a (7 + 7); mongía, mongiá (7 + 6).
b''. Marí-a (7 + 7); María, Mariá (7 + 6).
c''. uj-a (7 + 7); uja, ujá (7 + 6).
d''. alegrí-a (7 + 7); alegría, alegríá (7 + 6).
 316 *a''*. O'ri-a (7 + 8); O'ria (7 + 7).
b. dí-as (7 + 7); días, diás (6 + 7); históri-a (7 + 8); história (7 + 7). This makes possible the combinations 7 + 8, 7 + 7, 6 + 8, 6 + 7.
c. seruíci-o (8 + 7); seruício (7 + 7); glóri-a (7 + 8); glória (7 + 7). This makes possible the combinations 8 + 8, 8 + 7, 7 + 8, 7 + 7.
d''. memóri-a (7 + 8); memória (7 + 7).
 317 *c'*. dí-as (7 + 7); días, diás (6 + 7).
 319 *c'*. dizi-a (7 + 7); dizía, diziá (6 + 7).
 323 *d'*. lé-y (7 + 7); léy (6 + 7).
 325 *c'*. dí-as (7 + 7); días, diás (6 + 7).
d'. alegrí-a (7 + 7); alegría, alegríá (6 + 7).
 326 *a''*. abstinénci-a (7 + 8); abstinência (7 + 7).
b''. paci-én-ci-a (7 + 8); paci-ência (7 + 7).
c''. continénci-a (7 + 8); continência (7 + 7).
d. seruíci-o (8 + 7); seruício (7 + 7); fimén-ci-a (7 + 8); fimência (7 + 7). This makes possible the combinations 8 + 8, 8 + 7, 7 + 8, 7 + 7.
 329 *d'*. lazéri-o (8 + 7); lazério (7 + 7).
 333 *a'*. iglési-a (8 + 6); iglésia (7 + 6).
 334 *c'*. Honóri-o (8 + 6); Honório (7 + 6).
d'. continénci-as (8 + 6); continências (7 + 6).
 337 *b'*. tristíci-a (8 + 7); tristícia (7 + 7).
 338 *d'*. préci-o (8 + 6); preço (7 + 6).
 341 *c'*. podrí-a (7 + 6); podria, podriá (6 + 6).

- 350 *a''*. uj-a (7 + 7); uja, ujá (7 + 6).
b. Dí-os (7 + ?); Díos, Díós (6 + ?); meiorí-a (? + 7); meioría, meioría (? + 6). This makes possible the combinations 7 + 7, 7 + 6, 6 + 7, 6 + 6.
c''. folí-a (7 + 7); folía, foliá (7 + 6).
d. tídi-o (8 + ?); tídio (7 + ?); recadí-a (? + 7); recadia, recadiá (? + 6). This makes possible the combinations 8 + 7, 8 + 6, 7 + 7, 7 + 6.
- 351 *d'*. sé-a (7 + 7); séa, seá (6 + 7).
- 352 *c'*. gráci-a (8 + 7); grácia (7 + 7).
- 358 *a'*. ganánci-a (8 + 6); ganância (7 + 6).
- 363 *b'*. dari-a (7 + 6); daria, dariá (6 + 6).
- 366 *a'*. uj-a (7 + 6); uja, ujá (6 + 6).
- 373 *d'*. gráci-a (8 + 6); grácia (7 + 6).
- 374 *a'*. gráci-a (8 + 7); grácia (7 + 7).
- 376 *a''*. cortesí-a (7 + 7); cortesía, cortesiá (7 + 6).
b''. contari-a (8 + 7); contaría, contariá (8 + 6).
c. creó-o (7 + ?); creó, creó (6 + ?); deterñj-a (? + 7); deterñja, deterñjá (? + 6). This makes possible the combinations 7 + 7, 7 + 6, 6 + 7, 6 + 6.
d''. fri-a (7 + 7); fria, friá (7 + 6).
- 378 *a''*. dí-a (7 + 7); día, diá (7 + 6).
b''. Mongí-a (7 + 7); Mongía, Mongiá (7 + 6).
c''. chiriuj-a (7 + 7); chiriuja, chiriujá (7 + 6).
d''. erí-a (7 + 7); ería, eriá (7 + 6).
- 382 *c'*. lazéri-o (8 + 7); lazério (7 + 7).
- 385 *b'*. Monestéri-o (8 + 6); Monestério (7 + 6).
- 388 *a'*. Galízi-a (8 + 7); Galízia (7 + 7).
- 389 *a''*. romerí-as (7 + 7); romerías, romeriás (7 + 6).
b''. mengí-as (7 + 7); mengías, mengiás (7 + 6).
c''. ma-estri-as (7 + 7); ma-estriás, ma-estriás (7 + 6).
d''. dí-as (7 + 7); días, diás (7 + 6).
- 393 *c'*. estudi-o (8 + 7); estudio (7 + 7).
- 394 *b'*. águ-a (8 + 7); água (7 + 7).
- 396 *b'*. gráci-as (8 + 7); grácias (7 + 7).
c'. negóci-o (8 + 7); negócio (7 + 7).
- 397 *c'*. ieiúnj-o (8 + 6); ieiúnjo (7 + 6).
- 399 *b'*. memóri-a (8 + 6); memória (7 + 6).
- 400 *a''*. prendí-e (7 + 7); prendie, prendié (7 + 6).
b''. sentí-e (7 + 7); sentie, sentié (7 + 6).
c''. faci-e (7 + 7); facie, facié (7 + 6).

- 400 *d'*. auí-e (7 + 7); auíe, auié (7 + 6).
 403 *a'*. ieiúnj-o (8 + 7); ieiúnjo (7 + 7).
 404 *d'*. querrí-a (7 + 7); querría, querríá (6 + 7).
 405 *d'*. Glóri-a (8 + 6); Glória (7 + 6).
 407 *a''*. Garcí-a (7 + 7); Garcíá, Garcíá (7 + 6).
 b'. alegrí-a (7 + 7); alegría, alegríá (7 + 6).
 c''. romerí-a (7 + 7); romería, romeríá (7 + 6).
 d''. mongí-a (7 + 7); mongía, mongíá (7 + 6).
 408 *a'*. monestéri-o (8 + 7); monestério (7 + 7).
 409 *b'*. iglési-a (8 + 6); iglésia (7 + 6).
 410 *a'*. malaptí-a (7 + 7); malaptía, malaptíá (6 + 7).
 411 *b'*. Glóri-a (8 + 6); Glória (7 + 6).
 413 *a''*. lazéri-o (7 + 8); lazério (7 + 7).
 b''. psaltéri-o (7 + 8); psaltério (7 + 7).
 c''. monestéri-o (7 + 8); monestério (7 + 7).
 d''. mñnjstéri-o (7 + 8); mñnjstério (7 + 7).
 417 *b'*. uictóri-a (8 + 6); uictória (7 + 6).
 418 *a'*. dí-a (7 + 7); día, diá (6 + 7).
 422 *d'*. abrí-a (7 + 6); abría, abríá (6 + 6).
 425 *a'*. iglési-a (8 + 6); iglésia (7 + 6).
 426 *b'*. Dí-os (7 + 7); Díos, Díos (6 + 7).
 427 *d'*. jurarí-a (7 + 6); juraría, juraríá (6 + 6).
 429 *a''*. temj-a (7 + 7); temja, temjá (7 + 6).
 b''. dizi-a (7 + 7); dizía, diziá (7 + 6).
 c''. follí-a (7 + 7); follía, folliá (7 + 6).
 d''. malaptí-a (7 + 7); malaptía, malaptíá (7 + 6).
 431 *c'*. entendrí-as (7 + 7); entendrías, entendrías (7 + 6).
 433 *b'*. iglési-a (8 + 7); iglésia (7 + 7).
 435 *b'*. cré-o (7 + 7); créo, creó (7 + 6).
 444 *b'*. sé-a (7 + 6); séa, seá (6 + 6).
 447 *a''*. oratóri-o (7 + 8); oratório (7 + 7).
 b''. parlatóri-o (7 + 8); parlatório (7 + 7).
 c''. mormóri-o (7 + 8); mormório (7 + 7).
 d. bazi-o (7 + ?); bazió, bazió (6 + ?); refitóri-o (? + 8);
 refitório (? + 7). This makes possible the combinations
 7 + 8, 7 + 7, 6 + 8, 6 + 7.
 452 *a'*. uésti-as (8 + 7); uéstias (7 + 7).
 454 *a'*. meidí-a (7 + 6); meidía, meidíá (6 + 6).
 d'. méngu-a (8 + 6); méngua (7 + 6).
 456 *b'*. Ré-y (7 + 7); Réy (6 + 7).
 457 *b'*. méngu-a (8 + 7); méngua (7 + 7).

- 457 *d'*. sé-a (7 + 7); séa, seá (6 + 7).
 459 *b'*. Ré-y (7 + 7); Réy (6 + 7).
 465 *a'*. ódi-o (8 + 7); ódio (7 + 7).
 d'. fornçi-o (8 + 7); fornçio (7 + 7).
 466 *b'*. penjtenci-a (8 + 7); penjtência (7 + 7).
 472 *c'*. testimónj-o (8 + 7); testimónjo (7 + 7).
 477 *b'*. iglési-a (8 + 7); iglésia (7 + 7).
 479 *b'*. cenóbi-o (8 + 7); cenóbio (7 + 7).
 481 *a''*. ridi-a (7 + 7); ridia, ridiá (7 + 6).
 b''. entendí-a (7 + 7); entendía, entendiá (7 + 6).
 c''. fari-a (7 + 7); faría, fariá (7 + 6).
 d''. ca-y-a (7 + 7); ca-ya, ca-yá (7 + 6).
 482 *a''*. comí-en (7 + 7); comien, comién (7 + 6).
 b''. sedí-en (7 + 7); sedien, sedién (7 + 6).
 c''. cadí-en (7 + 7); cadien, cadién (7 + 6).
 d''. entendí-en (7 + 7); entendien, entendién (7 + 6).
 488 *c'*. lazéri-o (8 + 6); lazério (7 + 6).
 491 *a''*. memóri-a (7 + 8); memória (7 + 7).
 b''. peremptóri-a (7 + 8); peremptória (7 + 7).
 c''. Glóri-a (7 + 8); Glória (7 + 7).
 d''. ujtóri-a (7 + 8); ujtória (7 + 7).
 492 *a''*. malaptí-a (7 + 7); malaptía, malaptiá (7 + 6).
 b''. dí-a (7 + 7); día, diá (7 + 6).
 c''. plazenterí-a (7 + 7); plazentería, plazenteriá (7 + 6).
 d''. companj-a (7 + 7); companja, companjá (7 + 6).
 497 *a'*. obedi-énci-a (8 + 7); obedi-ência (7 + 7).
 500 *d'*. meiori-a (7 + 7); meioría, meioriá (7 + 6).
 505 *a''*. dí-a (8 + 7); día, diá (8 + 6).
 b. If *Rey* be read as two syllables, then we shall have for the
 first hemistich: Ré-yna (8 + 7); Réyna, Reyna (7 + 7);
 but if *Rey* be read as one syllable, the first hemistich will
 give: Re-yna (7 + 7). In any case the second hemistich
 will give: cauallerí-a (7 + 7); cauallería, caualleriá
 (7 + 7). This makes possible the combinations 8 + 7,
 7 + 7 (in two ways), 8 + 6, 7 + 6 (in two ways).
 c''. Clerezí-a (7 + 7); Clerezía, Clerezíá (7 + 6).
 d''. derechurí-a (7 + 7); derechuría, derechuriá (7 + 6).
 506 *c'*. Ré-yna (8 + 7); Réyna, Reyna (7 + 7); or else Re-yna
 (7 + 7). See remark on the first hemistich of 505 *b.*, above.
 d'. dí-as (7 + 7); días, diás (6 + 7).
 507 *c'*. Ré-y (7 + 6); Réy (6 + 6).

- 508 *d'*. Ré-y (7 + 7); Réy (6 + 7).
 510 *d'*. ternj-ades (8 + 7); ternjades, ternjades (7 + 7).
 511 *a''*. Mari-a (7 + 7); *Mariá*, *Mariá* (7 + 6).
 b''. Messí-a (7 + 7); *Messía*, *Messía* (7 + 6).
 c. Ré-ynas (8 + ?); Réynas, Reýnas (7 + ?); *meiori-a* (? + 7);
 meioría, *meioría* (? + 6). This makes possible the
 following combinations 8 + 7, 8 + 6, 7 + 7, 7 + 6.
 d''. dezi-a (7 + 7); *deziá*, *deziá* (7 + 6).
 512 *d'*. dí-as (7 + 7); *días*, *días* (6 + 7).
 514 *a''*. Mari-a (7 + 7); *Mariá*, *Mariá* (7 + 6).
 b''. uí-a (7 + 7); *uíá*, *uíá* (7 + 6).
 c''. querri-a (7 + 7); *querriá*, *querriá* (7 + 6).
 d''. dí-a (8 + 7); *día*, *día* (8 + 6).
 516 *b'*. monestéri-o (8 + 6); *monestério* (7 + 6).
 517 *a'*. monestéri-o (8 + 7); *monestério* (7 + 7).
 518 *b'*. plé-yto (8 + 7); *pléyto* (7 + 7).
 526 *a''*. Verçe-o (7 + 7); *Verçéo*, *Verçéo* (7 + 6).
 b''. desé-o (7 + 7); *deséo*, *deseó* (7 + 6).
 c''. assé-o (7 + 7); *asséo*, *asseó* (7 + 6).
 d''. torné-o (7 + 7); *tornéo*, *torneó* (7 + 6).
 529 *b'*. Glési-a (8 + 7); *Glésia* (7 + 7).
 c'. sacrifici-o (8 + 7); *sacrifício* (7 + 7).
 d'. méngu-a (8 + 7); *méngua* (7 + 7).
 530 *c'*. Clerizí-as (7 + 7); *Clerizías*, *Clerizías* (6 + 7).
 532 *d'*. Clerezí-as (7 + 7); *Clerezías*, *Clerezías* (6 + 7).
 539 *a'*. malaptí-a (7 + 7); *malaptía*, *malaptía* (6 + 7).
 d'. podí-a (7 + 7); *podía*, *podía* (6 + 7).
 544 *d'*. dí-as (7 + 7); *días*, *días* (6 + 7).
 545 *a'*. dí-as (7 + 7); *días*, *días* (6 + 7).
 553 *d'*. vigili-as (8 + 7); *vigílias* (7 + 7).
 555 *b'*. Ananí-as (7 + 7); *Ananías*, *Ananías* (6 + 7).
 557 *a''*. Palénçi-a (7 + 8); *Palénçia* (7 + 7).
 b''. pestilénçi-a (7 + 8); *pestilénçia* (7 + 7).
 c''. poténçi-a (6 + 8); *poténçia* (6 + 7).
 d''. falénçi-a (7 + 8); *falénçia* (7 + 7).
 560 *a'*. sobérbi-a (8 + 6); *sobérbia* (7 + 6).
 562 *a''*. sedí-a (7 + 7); *sedía*, *sedía* (7 + 6).
 b''. uenf-a (7 + 7); *uenja*, *uenjá* (7 + 6).
 c''. yazí-a (7 + 7); *yazía*, *yazía* (7 + 6).
 d''. fazí-a (7 + 7); *fazía*, *fazía* (7 + 6).
 563 *c'*. bésti-a (8 + 7); *béstia* (7 + 7).

- 566 *d'*. iglési-a (8 + 7) : iglésia (7 + 7).
 567 *a''*. Sapi-én-ci-a (7 + 8) : Sapi-én-cia (7 + 7).
 b''. differén-ci-a (7 + 8) : differén-cia (7 + 7).
 c''. Sequén-ci-a (7 + 8) : Sequén-cia (7 + 7).
 d''. Palén-ci-a (8 + 8) : Palén-cia (8 + 7).
 568 *d'*. Dé-um (7 + 6) : Déum, Deúm (6 + 6).
 578 *a''*. uedí-a (7 + 7) : uedía, uediá (7 + 6).
 b''. ujuj-a (7 + 7) : ujuja, ujujá (7 + 6).
 c''. sanctu-ári-os (8 + 3) : sanctu-ários (7 + 3) : podí-a (3 + 7) :
 podía, podiá (3 + 6). This makes possible the combina-
 tions 8 + 7, 8 + 6, 7 + 7, 7 + 6.
 d''. querí-a (7 + 7) : quería, queriá (7 + 6).
 580 *a'*. dí-as (7 + 7) : días, diás (6 + 7).
 581 *c'*. O'ri-a (8 + 6) : O'ria (7 + 6).
 594 *c'*. dí-a (7 + 6) : día, diá (6 + 6).
 595 *c'*. sé-as (7 + 7) : séas, seás (6 + 7).
 597 *d'*. pidí-a (7 + 6) : pidía, pidiá (6 + 6).
 604 *c'*. ujjíli-as (8 + 7) : ujjílias (7 + 7).
 605 *a'*. If *gracias* be read as three syllables, we shall have confessor
 (7 + 7). But if *gracias* be read as two syllables we shall
 have confessor (6 + 7).
 606 *d'*. lazéri-o (8 + 7) : lazério (7 + 7).
 611 *d'*. iglési-a (8 + 7) : iglésia (7 + 7).
 612 *d'*. demónj-o (8 + 7) : demónjo (7 + 7).
 616 *a''*. fimén-ci-a (7 + 8) : fimén-cia (7 + 7).
 b''. If *muy* be read as two syllables, we shall have: creén-ci-a
 (7 + 8) : creén-cia (7 + 7). But if *muy* be read as one syl-
 lable, we shall have: cre-én-ci-a (7 + 8) : cre-én-cia (7 + 7).
 c''. pestilén-ci-a (7 + 8) : pestilén-cia (7 + 7).
 d''. potén-ci-a (7 + 8) : potén-cia (7 + 7).
 620 *a'*. prouérbi-o (8 + 6) : prouérbio (7 + 6).
 627 *a'*. demónj-o (8 + 7) : domónjo (7 + 7).
 d'. fazi-alo (8 + 7) : faziálo, faziálo (7 + 7).
 629 *a''*. dí-as (7 + 7) : días, diás (7 + 6).
 b''. folí-as (7 + 7) : folías, foliás (7 + 6).
 c''. If *lios* be read as two syllables, we shall have: tí-as (7 + 7) ;
 tías, tiás (7 + 6). But if *lios* be read as one syllable, we
 shall have: tí-ás (7 + 6), thereby making the rime in -ás.
 d''. radi-as (7 + 7) : radiás, radiás (7 + 6).
 631 *d'*. fallén-ci-a (8 + 7) : fallén-cia (7 + 7).
 633 *c'*. ujjíli-as (8 + 7) : ujjílias (7 + 7).

- 634 *b'*. *ujgili-as* (8 + 7); *ujgílias* (7 + 7).
 635 *d'*. *demónj-o* (8 + 7); *demónjo* (7 + 7).
 638 *b'*. *mjséri-a* (8 + 7); *mjséria* (7 + 7).
 639 *a'*. *lazéri-o* (8 + 7); *lazério* (7 + 7).
 b'. *abstinénçi-as* (8 + 7); *abstinências* (7 + 7).
 640 *a''*. *ma-estri-as* (7 + 7); *ma-estrias, ma-estriás* (7 + 6).
 b''. *eregi-as* (7 + 7); *eregias, eregiás* (7 + 6).
 c''. *romeri-as* (8 + 7); *romerías, romeriás* (8 + 6).
 d''. *mongi-as* (7 + 7); *mongias, mongiás* (7 + 6).
 642 *d'*. *demónj-os* (8 + 7); *demónjos* (7 + 7).
 647 *c'*. *dí-a* (7 + 7); *día, diá* (6 + 7).
 648 *d'*. *escárnj-os* (8 + 7); *escárnjos* (7 + 7).
 651 *d'*. *mjsericórdi-a* (8 + 7); *mjsericórdia* (7 + 7).
 660 *c'*. *tápi-as* (8 + 7); *tápias* (7 + 7).
 661 *a''*. *sedí-a* (7 + 7); *sedía, sediá* (7 + 6).
 b''. *tenj-a* (7 + 7); *tenja, tenjá* (7 + 6).
 c''. *iazí-a* (7 + 7); *iazía, iaziá* (7 + 6).
 d''. *tenj-a* (7 + 7); *tenja, tenjá* (7 + 6).
 663 *a''*. *uj-a* (7 + 7); *uja, ujá* (7 + 6).
 b''. *Muzlemj-a* (7 + 7); *Muzlemja, Muzlemjá* (7 + 6).
 c''. *guj-a* (7 + 7); *guja, gujá* (7 + 6).
 d''. *dí-a* (7 + 7); *día, diá* (7 + 6).
 664 *a''*. *sé-as* (7 + 7); *séas, seás* (7 + 6).
 b''. *monestéri-o* (8 + ?); *monestério* (7 + ?); *ferropé-as* (? + 7);
 ferropéas, ferlopeás (? + 6). This makes possible the com-
 binations 8 + 7, 8 + 6, 7 + 7, 7 + 6.
 c''. *mé-as* (7 + 7); *méas, meás* (7 + 6).
 d''. *cré-as* (7 + 7); *créas, creás* (7 + 6).
 666 *a'*. *dí-a* (7 + 7); *día, diá* (6 + 7).
 d'. *monestéri-o* (8 + 7); *monestério* (7 + 7).
 667 *c'*. *Clerizí-a* (7 + 7); *Clerizía, Cleriziá* (6 + 7).
 668 *b'*. *conçili-o* (8 + 7); *conçilio* (7 + 7).
 669 *b'*. *almexí-a* (7 + 7); *almexía, almexiá* (6 + 7).
 672 *d'*. *dí-a* (7 + 6); *día, diá* (6 + 6).
 678 *c'*. *ujgili-as* (8 + 7); *ujgílias* (7 + 7).
 d'. *gráçi-as* (8 + 7); *grácias* (7 + 7).
 679 *c'*. *malaptí-a* (7 + 7); *malaptía, malaptiá* (6 + 7).
 d'. *memóri-a* (8 + 7); *memória* (7 + 7).
 680 *b'*. *radí-o* (7 + 7); *radio, radió* (6 + 7).
 684 *a'*. *malaptí-a* (7 + 7); *malaptía, malaptiá* (7 + 6).
 b'. *mongí-a* (7 + 7); *mongía, mongiá* (7 + 6).

- 684 *c'*. plazenterí-a (7 + 7): plazentería, plazenteríá (7 + 6).
d''. ma-estrí-a (7 + 7); ma-estría, ma-estriá, maestri-á (7 + 6).
- 686 *a'*. demónj-o (8 + 6); demónjo (7 + 6).
- 689 *b'*. órdi-o (8 + 7); órdio (7 + 7).
- 690 *a'*. demónj-o (8 + 7); demónjo (7 + 7).
d'. fê-os (7 + 7); féos, feós (6 + 7).
- 691 *c'*. demónj-o (8 + 6); demónjo (7 + 6).
- 695 *a'*. demónj-o (8 + 6); demónjo (7 + 6).
- 697 *a''*. senténçï-a (7 + 8); senténçia (7 + 7).
b''. fiménçï-a (7 + 8); fiménçia (7 + 7).
c. demónj-o (8 + ?); demónjo (7 + ?); poténçï-a (? + 8);
 poténçia (? + 7). This makes possible the combinations
 8 + 8, 8 + 7, 7 + 8, 7 + 7.
- d''*. liçénçï-a (7 + 8); liçénçia (7 + 7).
- 700 *b'*. préçï-o (8 + 7); préçio (7 + 7).
- 703 *b'*. ganánçï-a (8 + 7); ganánçia (7 + 7).
- 705 *d'*. prémi-a (8 + 6); prémia (7 + 6).
- 708 *a'*. luçénçï-a (8 + 7); luçénçia (7 + 7).
- 715 *a''*. cré-a (7 + 7); créa, creá (7 + 6).
b''. sé-a (7 + 7); séa, seá (7 + 6).
c''. pelé-a (7 + 7); peléa, peleá (7 + 6).
d''. corré-a (7 + 7); corréa, correá (7 + 6).
- 718 *d'*. cré-as (7 + 7); créas, creás (6 + 7).
- 720 *a''*. dí-a (7 + 7); día, diá (7 + 6).
b''. alegrí-a (7 + 7); alegría, alegríá (7 + 6).
c''. meiorí-a (7 + 7); meioría, meioríá (7 + 6).
d. préçï-a (8 + ?); préçia (7 + ?); conpañj-a (? + 7); con-
 pañja, conpañjá (? + 6). This makes possible the combi-
 nations 8 + 7, 8 + 6, 7 + 7, 7 + 6.
- 721 *b'*. dí-a (7 + 6); día, diá (6 + 6).
- 728 *a''*. uazí-a (7 + 7); uazía, uaziá (7 + 6).
b''. conpañj-a (7 + 7); conpañja, conpañjá (7 + 6).
c''. almexí-a (7 + 7); almexía, almexíá (7 + 6).
d''. dí-a (7 + 7); día, diá (7 + 6).
- 729 *a'*. lazéri-o (8 + 7); lazério (7 + 7).
- 735 *a''*. aldé-as (7 + 7); aldéas, aldeás (7 + 6).
b''. halaré-as (7 + 7); halaréas, halareás (7 + 6).
c''. farropé-as (7 + 7); farropéas, farropeás (7 + 6).
d''. pelé-as (7 + 7); peléas, peleás (7 + 6).
- 736 *a''*. conosçénçï-a (7 + 8); conosçénçia (7 + 7).
b. Ré-y (7 + ?); Réy (6 + ?); reuerénçï-a (? + 8); reuerénçia

- (? + 7). This makes possible the combinations 7 + 8, 7 + 7, 6 + 8, 6 + 7.
- 736 c". *atenénçî-a* (7 + 8); *atenência* (7 + 7).
 d". *repinténçî-a* (7 + 8); *repintência* (7 + 7).
- 739 a'. *Ré-y* (7 + 7); *Réy* (6 + 7).
 c'. *auj-a* (7 + 7); *auja*, *aujá* (6 + 7).
- 741 b'. *auj-alo* (8 + 7); *aujalo*, *aujálo* (7 + 7).
- 746 a'. *Ré-y* (7 + 6); *Réy* (6 + 6).
- 750 a". *fazî-a* (7 + 7); *fazía*, *faziá* (7 + 6).
 b". *yazî-a* (7 + 7); *yazía*, *yaziá* (7 + 6).
 c". *dizî-a* (7 + 7); *dizía*, *diziá* (7 + 6).
 d". *ferî-a* (7 + 7); *fería*, *feriá* (7 + 6).
- 751 a". *sabrí-a* (6 + 7); *sabría*, *sabriá* (6 + 6).
 b". *aprendî-a* (7 + 7); *aprendía*, *aprendiá* (7 + 6).
 c". *mj-a* (7 + 7); *mja*, *mjá* (7 + 6).
 d". If *seria* be read as three syllables, we shall have: *folî-a* (7 + 7); *folia*, *foliá* (7 + 6). But if *seria* be read as two syllables, we shall have: *folî-á* (7 + 6), thereby making the rime in *-á*.
- 752 a". *durarî-amos* (7 + 8); *durariâmos*, *durariâmos* (7 + 7).
 b". *en noiarî-amos* (7 + 8); *en noiarâmos*, *en noiarâmos* (7 + 7).
 c". *cantarî-amos* (7 + 8); *cantariâmos*, *cantariâmos* (7 + 7).
 d". *dirî-amos* (7 + 8); *diriâmos*, *diriâmos* (7 + 7).
- 755 b'. If we consider *podîemos* as a Preterit form we shall have only 7 + 7; but if it be considered the Imperfect we shall have *podî-emos* (8 + 7); *podîemos*, *podîemos* (7 + 7).
- 757 a". *Verçé-o* (7 + 7); *Verçéo*, *Verçéo* (7 + 6).
 b". *sé-o* (7 + 7); *séo*, *seó* (7 + 6).
 c". *desé-o* (7 + 7); *deséo*, *deseó* (7 + 6).
 d. *aDî-os* (7 + ?); *aDíos*, *aDíos* (6 + ?); *ué-o* (? + 7); *uéo*, *ucó* (? + 6). This makes possible the combinations 7 + 7, 7 + 6, 6 + 7, 6 + 6.
- 758 b'. *serujçî-o* (8 + 7); *serujçio* (7 + 7).
- 759 b'. *serujçî-o* (8 + 6); *serujçio* (7 + 6).
 c'. *querri-a* (7 + 6); *querria*, *querriá* (6 + 6).
- 764 a'. *gráci-a* (8 + 6); *grácia* (7 + 6).
- 765 b'. *liçénçî-a* (8 + 7); *liçência* (7 + 7).
 c'. *obediénçî-a* (8 + 7); *obediência* (7 + 7).
 d'. *serujçî-o* (8 + 7); *serujçio* (7 + 7).
- 774 a'. *Iglési-a* (8 + 7); *Iglésia* (7 + 7).

774 d'. offiçi-o (8 + 7); offiçio (7 + 7).

775 c'. seruîçi-o (8 + 6); seruîçio (7 + 6).

777 a'. gráci-as (8 + 6); grácias (7 + 6).

We thus have a total of 572 indeterminable verses in our poem, all of which, however, (except 24, which were included in this list on the condition mentioned on page 11), are perfectly metrical, whichever way they be read.

Morel-Fatio, while not in favor of so doing, admits the possibility of considering forms like *providencia* as proparoxytones. He says (*Bulletin hispanique*, vol. II, 1900, p. 130): "*... la rime donc dans l'Araucana ne peut être que llana, ou esdrújula, à la rigueur, si l'on considère, ce que je n'admets pas pour ma part, comme proparoxytons des mots tels que providencia.*"

Stengel (*Grundriss der Rom. Phil.* II, part 1, pp. 18-19) seems to have taken the opposite position. He says.

"Den oxytonischen und paroxytonischen Wortausgängen der Franco-Provenzalien gegenüber kennen die Italiener und Spanier in Übereinstimmung mit der lateinischen Sprache den proparoxytonischen Wortschluss, das archaische Latein und mit ihm teilweise auch das spätere Vulgärlatein kennt denselben noch oft da, wo ihn das Schriftlatein in einen paroxytonischen verwandelt hat. Auch im franco-provenzalischen Sprachgebiete hat die proparoxytonische Betonung mancherlei Spuren hinterlassen, welche beweisen, dass sie auch dort in vorhistorischer Zeit vorhanden war. Ich erinnere nur an Schreibarten, wie *aneme*, *angele*, *imagine* im Altfranz., wie *sapiencia*, *superbia*, *luxuria* im Provenz. *** Auch der ältere spanische 12-Silbner kennt derartige Reihenschlüsse (Diez, *Altr. Sprachd.* S. 107, F. Wolf, *Studien* S. 417)."

The passage from Diez is interesting and may be considered as supporting, in a way, both the position of Stengel and that of Morel-Fatio. It is also worthy of note that, while he admits, with reserve, that such forms as *servicio* and *finencia* are proparoxytones, Diez considers that it is a blemish on Spanish poetry to permit both hemistichs in a given verse to terminate in such manner. As the volume cited is somewhat rare, it may not be amiss to quote the passage in full.¹ Stengel's reference

1. Diez: *Altr. Sprachd.*, Bonn, 1846, p. 107.

"Auch in Spanien -- um die übrigen Länder nur noch flüchtig zu betrach-

to Wolf is to note 1 on page 417. The chief interest in this citation lies in the fact that Wolf himself refers to an important passage in the *Obras póstumas* of the Benedictine monk Fray Martin Sarmiento¹.

The point of chief importance in this passage is the table of nine verse-types, and the examples that Sarmiento has chosen at random to prove them. He cites six hemistichs as being proparoxytone, or *esdrújulo*. Of these six, four are hemistichs ending in *reverencia*, *Parlatorio*, *servicio*, and *femencia* respectively. This shows that to Sarmiento's ear such forms, at least at the end of a hemistich, gave the same syllabic impression or effect as that produced by the forms *paralítica*, *Lázaro*, etc.

ten — fand er [the Alexandrine] Eingang. Das Gedicht vom Cid, aus der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrh., ringt offenbar nach dieser Form, kann aber, wenn es auch die Pause wahr, die regelrechte Sylbenzahl nicht erreichen; die rhythmische Kunst ist hier noch gänzlich in ihrer Kindheit. Regelmässig á *silabas contadas*, wie das Alexanderlied sich ausdrückt wird der Vers erst im folgenden Jahrhundert, allein hier tritt sogleich eine Abweichung von der französisch-provenzalischen Regel hervor, die ihren Anlass in der Natur der spanischen Sprache hatte: es dürfen sich zwei tonlose Sylben vor der Cäsure finden:

connesco bien gramática | sé bien toda natura.

Der Provenzale liess nur dreisylbige Ausgänge zu, die eine Zusammenschmelzung gestatten wie im Ferabras *justezia*, *gloria*, *bestia*, *Arabia*; ein Vers wie der des Moralisten Izarn (*Choix* V. 229)

c'anc no saupro gramática | ni de letra ques fo

gehört unter die Auswüchse. Allein die spanischen Cleriker, die sich damals der Poesie bemächtigt hatten, besaßen so wenig rhythmisches Gehör, dass sie nach Willkür beiden Verhältnissen den gleitenden Ausgang gaben; so Berceo (*Silos* 326):

en fer á Dios servicio | metia toda finencia. "

1. The first volume (it is, I believe, the only one that appeared) was published in Madrid in 1775, and bore as title *Memorias para la historia de la poesía y poetas españoles*. The whole discussion of the Alexandrines (pp. 185-192) is very interesting, treating as it does the question of the origin of this verse; but, for our present purpose, the paragraphs 438-440 (pp. 189-190) will suffice.

After quoting the first two coplas of *La Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*, Sarmiento, *l. c.* says:

" 438 A este tenor, y en quartetas de quatro consonantes, prosigue hasta acabar; y son en todas setecientas setenta y siete quartetas semejantes. De todas ellas entresaqué nueve pies diversos [Sarmiento uses the word *pies* to indicate a whole *verso*], para con ellos hacer analysis de la natural medida que deben tener. Citaré las quartetas en donde se hallan. Pondré los pies intercalados, dividiendo cada medio pie con una*; y así se podrá cotejar el número de

Two other points of interest are that Sarmiento considers *Rey* to be monosyllabic at the end of a hemistich, and that he considers the termination of *Berceo* to be dissyllabic under the same circumstances. These two forms will be treated at greater length in pages 88-93; and 60-64 and 101-110 respectively.

To conclude the discussion of these forms (which may be called proparoxytones or paroxytones, according to the point of view we shall find most to our liking) we shall examine a passage from Juan Diaz Rengifo's *Arte poetica española*¹. Rengifo seems best to have realized the two aspects of the case and the difficulty of reaching any definite conclusion in the matter. In

syllabas del medio pie primero, con las del segundo, y por consiguiente se sabrá el número de las syllabas del verso entero. V. g.

En las Coplas.	{	496 <i>Servid al Criador * de toda voluntad</i> = 6 con 6.
	{	402 <i>Eran de su salud * todos desfiuzados</i> = 6 con 7.
	{	736 <i>Nin temieron al Rey, * nil dieron reverencia</i> = . . 6 con 8.
	{	496 <i>Ared unos con otros * amor & caridad</i> = 7 con 6.
	{	757 <i>Yo Gonzalo por nomne, * clamado de Berceo</i> = 7 con 7.
	{	447 <i>Mandó todos los Monges * venir al Parlatorio</i> = 7 con 8.
	{	581 <i>De otra paralitica, * vos queremos contar</i> = . . . 8 con 6.
	{	319 <i>De la soror de Lázaro, * era much embidiosa</i> = 8 con 7.
		326 <i>En fer á Dios servicio * metie toda femencia</i> = 8 con 8.

439 En esta tabla se conoce que el pie quinto, *Yo Gonzalo*, &c. cuyos dos medios-pies son siete con siete syllabas, ó de catorce todo entero, es el mas natural; pues resulta de la misma combinacion que los pies de doce, y diez y seis syllabas, solo tienen una combinacion. Los de trece y de quince, tienen dos; y es especialidad del de catorce, que tenga tres. A esto se añade que *Berceo* usa infinitas veces del pie de catorce syllabas, y en particular del interciso, en siete con siete syllabas, largas las penúltimas.

440 De esta analysis se deduce, que el verso de *Berceo* es naturalmente de catorce syllabas, y no de trece, como han dicho algunos. Tambien se deduce que si los Franceses, ó versos Alexandrinos, no tienen las nueve diferencias de medidas propuestas, no son los mismos que los de *Berceo*, ni este tomó de ellos semejante metro".

1. According to Brunet's *Manuel du libraire*, the first edition of this work was that of Salamanca, 1592. Another edition, under the name Rencifo appeared in Madrid 1605-6. Still another edition appeared (Brunet does not say where) in 1644. The edition I have used is the one published without date at Barcelona. This edition was greatly augmented by Joseph Vicens, and the licence and the *tassa* bear the dates 1724 and 1726 respectively. Still, as the dedication by Vicens, and the approbation of his edition both bear the date 1703, it is probable that the copy I have used is at least a second edition of the augmented version by Vicens.

his chapter xvij, *De la syneresys* (p. 25), after mentioning several other cases in which synaeresis occurs, he says: « *ó quando [el acento] està en la antepenultima, y despues se siguen las dos vocales, como en Glòria, Notàrio; entonces ambas valen por una.* » This would be in harmony with the opinion of Morel-Fatio; but a few lines further on Rengifo tells us to read the chapter on *esdrújulo* forms¹. This chapter is not only interesting but very important; it belongs furthermore, to the original

1. Rengifo, *Op. cit.*, pp. 375-377.

** Dudase, si son Esdruxulos los que tienen estas terminaciones con el Accento en la primera vocal.

Abria.	Aria.	Enia.	Inia.	Oria.
Acia.	Ardia.	Erea.	India.	Ornia.
Adia.	Arria.	Eria.	Intia.	Osio.
Adria.	Asia.	Esia.	Iria.	Vvia.
Agia.	Avia.	Estia.	Istia.	Vcia.
Alia.	Ebia.	Evia.	Ivia.	Vdio.
Amia.	Ecia.	Icia.	Ocia.	Vncia.
Ancia.	Edia.	Idria.	Olia.	Vria.
Andia.	Egia.	Idia.	Onio.	
Andria.	Emio.	Igia.	Onia.	
Ania.	Encia.	Ilia.	Oquio.	
Apia.	Endia.	Incia.	Orcia.	

Parece que no lo son. Porque el uso que tenemos dellos no es de Poesia Esdruxula, sino de la ordinaria, que corre en España la qual acaba todos sus versos (sacando los agudos) en dicciones, que tienen el Accento en la syllaba penultima, y acabalos en estas, luego estas no son de Esdruxulos. Y que estas terminaciones sean de dos syllabas y no de tres; siguese de la regla, que diximos en el capitulo 27 [read 17] de la Syneresi. Porque alli diximos, que se contraian las dos vocales ultimas, y que ambas no hacian sino una syllaba.

Por otra parte, para que sean verdaderamente Esdruxulos, hace el ser cada una de aquellas vocales perfecta syllaba. Porque si la syllaba es una vocal, que suena por sí, no menos suena la *i*, en *Prudencia*, que en *Dialectica*, solo està la diferencia en la Consonante, que aqui se añade, no en el sonido de las vocales. Demàs desto, quien dirà que muchas destas dicciones no son las mismas en Romance, y que no tienen la misma pronunciacion, que en el Latin? Luego si en el Latin de aquella vocal penultima se hace una syllaba, y todos los Poetas Latinos la cuentan por tal, tambien se hará syllaba en Romance. Si dices, que ha de haver alguna Consonante entre las vocales: no vale el argumento. Porque entre la antepenultima y penultima es la misma razon, y en muchas dicciones, como en *Euco*, *Eolo*, *Oceano*, &c. no ay Consonantes, y son con todo esso dicciones muy buenas para Esdruxulos. Pues decir, que *Prudencia*, *Constancia*, *Antonio*, &c. se pronuncian en Romance de diferente manera, que en Latin, tambien es falso, como se vè manifestamente por la

author Rengifo, and not to Vicens. In it we see that Rengifo not only recognizes the difficulty of reaching any one opinion in the matter that excludes all other opinions, but admits that these forms may stand as proparoxytones and as paroxytones, both in the interior and at the end of the verse.

In our poem we find verses that justify to a certain extent the position taken by Rengifo. In 38 c. *euangelios*; in 56 a. *Antonjo*; and in 175 b. *peccunja* the ending counts for but one syllable. On the other hand, in 553 b. *çirios*; and in 567 d. *Gloria* the ending counts for two syllables. If the emendation suggested for 605 a. be accepted, the word *Gracias* would be a proparoxytone or a paroxytone according as one read *conféssor* or *confessor* at the end of the hemistich¹.

If the poets have this liberty in the body of the verse, it

pronunciacion de los que bien pronuncian: luego estas terminaciones son de tres syllabas, y muy proprias de Esdruxulos.

Como ningun Autor ha escrito desta materia, y los versos Esdruxulos, que hasta ahora se han estampado en nuestra lengua, sean tan pocos, no puedo alegar à nadie en pro, ni en contra. Solo digo, que he comunicado esta duda con hombres de los mas eruditos, y mayores Poetas, que ay en España, y à todos les ha parecido que los Consonantes deste genero, son Esdruxulos con todo rigor. Y uno, que se inclinava algo mas à que no lo fuesen, no hablava consequentemente. Porque admitia por buenos Esdruxulos à *Ethereo*, *Tartareo* y no à *Prudencia*, *Audacia*, siendo la misma razon de los unos, que de los otros. Pues en el metro ordinario, quando usamos à *Ethereo* y à *Tartareo*, de la misma manera encontraremos aquellas dos letras, que quando usamos à *Prudencia*, y à *Audacia*, &c. Esto mismo insinua Antonio de Tempo Autor Italiano, quando trata de la Synalepha, y dice, que en el Italiano vulgar, aquellas dos vocales muchas veces se contraen, y hacen una cierta maera [*sic*] de diphtongo, al modo que nosotros las encontraremos. Mas porque estosterminos de suyo no son tan sonoros, y numerosos, devria el poeta usarlos con moderacion, y meterlos entre otros, que lleven mejor sonido, numero, y corriente.

A las razones, que traximos por la parte contraria, respondo, que el uso yà recibido cerca destas dicciones es, que puedan entrar en los versos ordinarios, haciendose de las dos vocales una manera de diphtongo, como dixo Tempo [referred to above as Tempo], como se hacen en Latin en *deinde*, y en *omneis*, y en otras dicciones: aunque cada una de aquellas vocales sean en si vocal, y suene, como tal; y algunas veces haga syllaba distincta de la que hace la vocal, que està cabe ella. Y concedo que la mala pronunciacion de algunos ha hecho, que parezca, que se passa por la vocal, que està antes de la ultima syllaba, como si fuesse Consonante, como pasan algunos por la *i*, quando en el Latin pronuncian à *tenūa*.

1. For further proof see Rodriguez Marin, *Barahona de Soto*, Madrid, 1903, pp. 406-410.

would seem but logical to admit that they have it at the end of it: in that case these verses remain, as I have named them, indeterminable.

So much for those indeterminables which may be either proparoxytones or paroxytones. We now come to the indeterminables that are paroxytones or oxytones. Rengifo and Vicens tell us, and the examples cited bear them out, that in such forms as *alegría* and *deseo* the termination, counting sometimes as two syllables and sometimes as one, makes them sometimes paroxytones and sometimes oxytones¹. The statements of Rengifo and Vicens concern the use of these forms in the *body* of the verse. Hanssen has felt that such forms as these *tended* to count as two syllables when placed at the end of the verse. In support of his feeling he has cited two Spanish authorities, one a modern and the other a seventeenth century writer². The modern writer is Eduardo Benot, and the passage cited by Hanssen is the chapter on *Terminaciones en ái, áis con acento en la á*³. Benot gives numerous examples in which he considers that the endings *ái* and *áis* count as two syllables in the assonance. In the following

1. Rengifo, *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

« La Syneresis es una junta de dos vocales dentro de una misma dición: las quales ambas no hazen sino una syllaba, como; *Dios, Glorioso, Aun, Deydad, Prudencia*, y las que tienen I, ò V, antes de B, como *Cielo, Tierra, Viento, Cuérda, Fuego, Muerte*. Alvares cap. 3. de los atributos del verso:

Syllaba de gemina facta una, Syneresis esto.

Destas dicciones ay muchas en nuestra lengua; pero no en todas se haze esta figura: porque quando en la primera de las dos vocales, que se encuentran se pone el acento, ambas tienen fuerza de vocales, como en estas, *Alegria, desèo*: y aun estas, y otras semejantes, algunas veces muchos Poetas de primera magnitud cometen dicha figura, haziendo no mas que una syllaba, como en la primera Academia de la segunda parte de Federico, en este verso de onze syllabas: *Ni templa sus desèos el desengaño*. Y en este Quebrado de quatro syllabas, que se halla en el cap. 36. de los Villancicos: *Embía luego*: y en otras muchas partes ». Vicens tells us that the passage « *Aun, Deydad — Syneresis esto.* », and the one « y aun estas — otras muchas partes », are due to him and not to the original author.

2. Hanssen; *Metrische Studien zu Alfonso und Berceo*, Valparaiso, 1903, p. 30.

3. Benot: *Prosodia Castellana*, vol. ij. pp. 138-143. The work appeared in Madrid without date. The prologue, however, gives the date of 1891 as the year in which it was written. The work consists of three volumes.

chapter he takes the same view with regard to the endings *ói*, *óis*. But for all his disserting he does not seem to be able to reach a definite conclusion that will support or harmonize absolutely with his own feeling, for he says (p. 142): « *Por hábil que sea el lector, no puede hacer olvidar que, especialmente al fin de verso, las terminaciones ai, ais, deben (o por lo menos pueden) ser disílabas;...* » And immediately after saying that these endings *must, or at least may* be dissyllabic, Benot admits that a great number of excellent poets (and among them Moratin and Bretón de los Herreros) do not agree with him. More interesting and more convincing are the examples cited by Benot on page 153. He is here discussing the syllabic value of such forms as *rey*, *grey*. Hanssen refers to the citation of *grey* as dissyllabic at the end of a verse, in harmony with his own feeling in the matter, but seems to have missed the citation, a few lines previous, of the word *rey*, which is monosyllabic at the end of a verse. These examples given by Benot seem to me incontrovertible. In the *cuaderna vía* no conclusion can be reached, since the hemistich may be acute or grave, as well as *esdrújulo*. The form *rey*, as cited from the works of the Duque de Rivas, stands in an assonance in *é*: and the form *grey*, as cited from the works of Juan Gualberto González, can only be dissyllabic at the end of a verse, for it stands in a poem of grave or paroxytonic hendecasyllables (*endecasílabos llanos*).

The other citation to which Hanssen refers in support of his feeling that these forms are dissyllabic at the end of a verse is from Francisco Cascales. Only partially does it support Hanssen. Cascales himself agrees with Hanssen, but his very assertion is made against others who do not consider that these forms are dissyllabic at the end of the verse¹.

For the reasons given above, the verses that end in the various forms mentioned (pp. 10-11) have been called indeter-

1. Francisco Cascales: *Tablas poéticas*. Murcia 1617 (Viñaza, Biblioteca, col. 941, 942): « En nuestra lengua Castellana ay muchas contracciones, que es casi lo mismo, porque la contraction comprehende tambien dos vocales en una, no es totalmente lo mismo, porque algunas vezes no las contrae, y en el fin del verso nunca. Estas contracciones llama el griego synereses, como *ai*, *ei*.

minable. Further discussion of these forms (whether in the interior of a verse or at its end) will be found in later chapters¹.

II. — ACCENTUAL STRUCTURE.

We have so far examined only the general and syllabic structure of the *cuaderna vía*. It is now time to look at the accentual structure of this kind of poetry. As has already been said, in the statement of the number of syllables in a hemistich, there is a *fixed* accent on the *sixth* syllable of each hemistich. Is this the only accent? and must the verse be read in a monotone until that syllable be reached? or are there other accents? If so, where do they fall? and is their position fixed, like that of the accent on the sixth syllable? or is the poet free to put the other accent or accents where he will? and even occasionally to omit them entirely?

Bello, in the second part of his treatise on metrics², gives the general conditions of accent and classifies the various words that have, in addition to their principal accent, a secondary accent, which, from the standpoint of versification may be considered, or rather is considered by many, as a principal verse-accent, while others contend that such a secondary word-accent cannot form anything but a secondary verse-accent.

Those who make this latter claim, maintain also that many words that have only one accent, and hence what may well be called a principal *word*-accent, have only a secondary *verse*-accent. On the other hand, the former class insist that every

oi, ie, io, éo, úi, úe, éa, ae. oe..... Si aduirtieran estas reglillas algunos, no defendieran..... Ni tampoco defendieran ser verso con final agudo aquel, o otros como el :

La humana, y diuina ley.

Dicen que este verso acaba en acento agudo, y es falso: porque no hay contraction en remate de verso, como queda dicho. »

1. Vide chap. iv, pp. 60-93, and App., pp. 101-110.

2. Bello. *Opúsculos gramaticales*, I: *Ortología* — *Arte métrica*, Madrid, 1890 (*Col. de Eserit. Cast.*) pp. 153-164.

principal word-accent and every secondary word-accent becomes a principal verse-accent. But such claims as either of these lead to the classification of verses, according to rhythm, into trochaic, iambic, dactylic, anapaestic etc., as Bello has shown¹. Still this classification, while in a sense convenient, leads to difficulty if one attempt to apply it strictly, and thus it is that Bello, immediately after setting up his five characteristic rhythms, finds it necessary to say².

“ Pero los versos no se conforman siempre á los tipos rítmicos de que acabo de dar ejemplos. Dificultosísimo hubiera sido continuar en una composición algo larga la alternativa precisa de acentuadas é inacentuadas que constituye los ritmos trocáico y yámbico; y, lo que es peor, esa misma alternativa, al cabo de pocas líneas, se nos haría insoportablemente monótona y fastidiosa. De aquí es que en los versos trocáicos y yámbicos que no pasan de ocho sílabas y que no se destinan al canto, no se somete el poeta á la necesidad de otro acento que el de la cláusula final, y acentúa las otras como quiere³; de que resultan unas veces acentos rítmicos, esto es, colocados en las sílabas impares de los versos trocáicos y en las sílabas pares de los yámbicos, y otras veces acentos accidentales ó *antirrítmicos*, esto es, colocados en los parajes del verso que no piden acento. Por ejemplo :

Saliendo del colmenar,
dijo al cuchillo la abeja :
Calla, porque no me deja
tu ingrata voz trabajar.
No hay ave tan fastidiosa
en el cantar como tú :
cucú, cucú, y más cucú,
y siempre una misma cosa.

En estas dos estrofas de versos trocáicos, no hay más acentos rítmicos, bien caracterizados, que los de las cláusulas finales, y los de las dicciones *dijo*, *calla* y *misma*.

1. *Op. cit.* pp. 271-285.

2. *Op. cit.* pp. 277-278.

3. Bello uses the word *cláusula* in the sense of 'foot', and avoids *pié* because *pié* has in addition the meaning 'verse', so that a sonnet is said to consist of fourteen *piés*.

Fácil es ver que los versos en que no se pide más acento que el de la cláusula final, no tienen apariencia alguna de ritmo, si se considera cada uno de por sí. Para que se perciba ritmo, es necesario oír una serie de versos, porque sólo entonces se hace sentir la recurrencia de un acento á espacios iguales de tiempo".

As I did not care to make a classification that would immediately have to be destroyed, it has seemed best not to make any discussion of feet or rhythm in that particular sense. We shall find that rhythm exists in the *cuaderna vía* (in accord with the last paragraph just quoted), and it will be doubly noticeable inasmuch as the verse, instead of being simple, is a compound of two hemistichs each having the metrical accent in the same position: *i. e.* the sixth syllable. An examination of the poem under consideration will, I believe, prove that this accent on the sixth syllable of each hemistich is the *only fixed* accent in this kind of poetry and hence the *only metrical* accent. But if it were the *only* accent of any kind permitted in the verse it would soon become quite as monotonous as a constantly recurring trochee, iambus, dactyl or anapaest. I believe, too, that the *cuaderna vía* has always been thought so monotonous a kind of poetry simply because it has not been realized how much variation was permitted to the poet by a free use of subordinate *unmetrical* accent. These subordinate unmetrical accents may perhaps better be called *rhetorical* accents. Let us not forget, also, that in spite of the liberty that the poets enjoyed, this poetry *was* meant to be *sung*, although Bello, in the passage just cited, would deny this liberty absolutely for poetry that is intended for singing¹.

To begin, then, with the analysis of the various schemes² of accent that the poet might use, we have the verse with no other accent than the metrical accent on the sixth syllable. In the next place there is the possibility of *one rhetorical* accent in addition to the metrical accent and as it may fall on any of the five preceding syllables we shall have the schemes: 1-6; 2-6;

1. Hanssen, *Zur Lateinischen und Romanischen Metrik*, Valparaiso, 1901, pp. 25-30 roughly reaches the same conclusion about the fixed and free accents, although he treats only *en passant* the alexandrine.

2. The figures indicate the number of the syllable on which a given accent falls.

3-6; 4-6; and 5-6. Next there is the possibility of *two* rhetorical accents beside the metrical accent. From these we may get the following schemes: 1-2-6; 1-3-6; 1-4-6; 1-5-6; 2-3-6; 2-4-6; 2-5-6; 3-4-6; 3-5-6; 4-5-6. There may also be *three* rhetorical accents in addition to the metrical accent, and in these cases we may have the schemes: 1-2-3-6; 1-2-4-6; 1-2-5-6; 1-3-4-6; 1-3-5-6; 1-4-5-6; 2-3-4-6; 2-3-5-6; 2-4-5-6; 3-4-5-6. This makes in all twenty six possible variations of accent¹. The following hemistichs will exemplify these variations.

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|---------------------------------------|------------|
| 1. | 10 <i>d'</i> . | que se marauillaua... | (6.) |
| 2. | 10 <i>d''</i> . | ... toda la uezindat. | (1-6.) |
| 3. | 3 <i>b''</i> . | ... meter uos en carrera; | (2-6.) |
| 4. | 1 <i>a'</i> . | En el nonbre del Padre... | (3-6.) |
| 5. | 14 <i>d'</i> . | que ala bestia muda | (4-6.) |
| 6. | 27 <i>b'</i> . | los que dela ley uieio... | (5-6.) |
| 7. | 14 <i>a''</i> . | ... se bien que es verdat, | (1-2-6.) |
| 8. | 2 <i>a'</i> . | Quiero fer vna prosa... | (1-3-6.) |
| 9. | 16 <i>c''</i> . | ... quando queria comer, | (1-4-6.) |
| 10. | 30 <i>b'</i> . | dixo que pastor era... | (1-5-6.) |
| 11. | 15 <i>b''</i> . | ... uijnja tan alliñado, | (2-3-6.) |
| 12. | 11 <i>b''</i> . | ... auialis poco grado; | (2-4-6.) |
| 13. | 2 <i>d''</i> . | ... un vaso de bon vino ² | (2-5-6.) |
| 14. | 1 <i>c''</i> . | ... que egual dellos posa, | (3-4-6.) |
| 15. | 16 <i>a'</i> . | Sy oya razon buena... | (3-5-6.) |
| 16. | 69 <i>a'</i> . | Por que fazia mal tiempo... | (4-5-6.) |
| 17. | 20 <i>b'</i> . | tan bien non lo faria... | (1-2-3-6.) |
| 18. | 18 <i>c''</i> . | ... el non auia ardura ³ , | (1-2-4-6.) |

1. I have intentionally omitted the possibilities of four or of five rhetorical accents although it is not certain that they should be omitted. For instance, it does not require a very violent effort of the imagination to make one see five accents (four rhetorical and the metrical) in 55 *d'*, which would then read

qual non dirie nul omne,

instead of having four accents only, as given below under type twenty-five.

2. A still better example of this type would be the emendation to

9 c'. ea luego ansi priso...

3. Or better, perhaps, the hemistich

65 d'.... do omnes non morauan.

19.	48 a".	... el mucho mejor era,	(1-2-5-6.)
20.	16 d'.	sy fazia que se quiere	(1-3-4-6.)
21.	109 b'.	yo la ui, asy uea	(1-3-5-6.)
22.	13 b'.	non lo queria el todo...	(1-4-5-6.)
23.	20 d'.	... aujan muy grant sauor.	(2-3-4-6.)
24.	40 c'.	fazia Dios por el mucho...	(2-3-5-6.)
25.	55 d'.	qual non dirie nul omne...	(2-4-5-6.)
26.	132 d'.	escusar non vos puedo...	(3-4-5-6.)

Naturally these variations do not occur with equal frequency, but the fact that all twenty-six of them are to be found in about the first sixth of the poem (actually in the first 132 *coplas*) would seem to indicate that none of them can justly be relegated to the category of sporadic cases, and that any and all of them may recur without effort on the part of the poet. As a matter of fact it will be noticed that twenty-four of these variations occurred in less than 69 *coplas*, since the highest figure used up to that point is for type 16 which is found in *copla* 69 a. This means that virtually all the types occur in the first eleventh of the poem.

When we consider that each hemistich is independent and that the first hemistich, with any one of these twenty-six variations, may be combined with a second hemistich which in its turn may have any one of the twenty-six variations, it becomes evident that the possibilities of verse variation will mount to the number of 676. This means that the poet was practically unhampered in the matter of rhetorical rhythm; that this kind of poetry depends for its metrical rhythm upon the regular recurrence of the metrical accent on the sixth syllable of each hemistich: and that it is saved from the monotony that would be inevitable, even with so few metrical accents as these, by the virtually unlimited number of variations that the poet had at his command in the disposition of these so-called secondary, unmetrical, or rhetorical accents¹.

1. A similar analysis of the Old French and Classic French Alexandrine is to be found in Körting; *Encyklopaedie u. Methodologie der Romanischen Philologie*, vol. III, pp. 286-289.

CHAPTER II. — HIATUS AND SYNALOEPHA.

The *Poema del Cid* admits both synaloepha and hiatus side by side¹. The same is true of popular poetry and, according to Encina² and Nebrija³, of both the *arte real* and the *arte mayor*.

The description of the *cuaderna vía*, as given by the author of the *Libro de Alexandre*, calls our attention to the fundamental

1. This statement is based on a private interview with Sr. D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Federico Hanssen (*Sobre el Hiato en la antigua versificación castellana*, Santiago de Chile, 1896) lays down the following thesis (on page 3), which he attempts to prove :

“ La primitiva versificación castellana, que aparece en el Poema del Cid, en las obras de Gonzalo, i en otros monumentos de poesía arcaica, admitia el hiato sin restriccion ninguna i no permitia contraer la vocal final de una palabra con la inicial de otra. Esa contraccion, que llamamos sinalefa, la introdujeron por primera vez los que imitaron a los trovadores limosines i portugueses. ”

In this statement there is a confusion concerning the fundamental principles of the various kinds of versification of the *Poema del Cid*, of Gonzalo de Berceo, and of the other archaic poetic monuments.

2. *Antología de Poetas líricos castellanos* : Menéndez y Pelayo, tomo V, p. 41.
“ Dixe que podian á las veses llevar más o menos sílabas los pies : entiéndese aquello en cantidad o contando cada una por sí : mas en el valor o pronunciacion ni son más ni menos. Pueden ser más en cantidad quando vna dicion acaba en vocal é la otra que sigue tambien en el mesmo pie comiença en vocal, que aunque son dos sílabas no valen sino por vna ni tardamos más tiempo en pronunciar ambas que vna. assi como dize Juan de mena : *Paró nuestra vida vfana*. Auemos tambien de mirar que quando entre la una vocal e la otra estuviere la *h*, que es aspiracion : entonces á las vezes acontece que pasan por dos é á las vezes por una é juzgarlo hemos segun el comun uso de hablar ó segun viesemos que el pie lo requiere : é esto tambien aurá lugar en las dos vocales sin aspiracion. ”

3. *Antología de Poetas líricos castellanos* : Menéndez y Pelayo, tomo V, pp. 60-61.

“ Acontece muchas vezes : que quando alguna palabra acaba en vocal e si

difference between the *cuaderna vía* and all the other forms of poetry then extant¹. *Lib. de Alej.* 2 (Ed. Janer: Riv. 57, p. 147):

se sigue otra que comienza esso mesmo en vocal: echamos fuera la primera dellas como Juan de mena en el labirintho.

Hasta que al tiempo de agora vengamos.

Despues de que é le siguiesse. *a. i.* echamos la. *e.* pronunciando en esta manera.

Hasta qual tiempo de agora vengamos.

A esta figura los griegos llaman *sinalepha*. los latinos *compression*. nosotros podemosla llamar *ahogamiento de vocales*. Los griegos ni escriven ni pronuncian la vocal que echan fuera assi en verso como en prosa. Nuestra lengua esso mesmo con la griega assi en verso como en prosa a las vezes escribe e pronuncia aquella vocal: aunque se siga otra vocal. como Juan de mena.

Al gran rey de españa al cesar novelo.

Despues de. *a.* siguese otra. *a.* pero no tenemos necesidad de echar fuera la primera dellas. E si en prosa dixesses: *tu eres mi amigo*: ni echamos fuera la. *u.* ni la. *i.* aunque se siguieron. *e. a.* vocales. A las vezes ni escrivimos ni pronunciamos aquella vocal como Juan de mena.

Despues quel pintor del mundo.

Por dezir.

Despues que el pintor de el mundo.

A las vezes escrivimos la *a.*: e no la pronunciamos como el mesmo autor en el verso siguiente

Para nuestra vida ufana.

Callamos la: *a.* e dezimos

Para nuestra vidufana.

E esto no solamente en la necesidad del verso: mas aun en la oracion suelta. Como si escrivieses. *nuestro amigo está aqui*. puedeslo pronunciar como se escribe. e por esta figura puedeslo pronunciar en esta manera *nuestramigo estáqui*.²

It will be noticed that Nebrija makes a confusion between synaloepha and contraction, as the *poetas de clerecía* understood those terms. Cf. chap. III, pp. 48-52.

1. Bello: *Ortología — Arte métrica*, Madrid, 1890, pp. 298-300; makes a confusion between the ordinary Alexandrine and that used by the *poetas de clerecía*. He says:

“ El *alejandrino* de los antiguos *poetas castellanos* no era un verso simple, sino compuesto de dos versos heptasílabos de ritmo yámbico.

Volví la cabeza | é estábalos catando.

Vió puertas abiertas | é uzos sin cannados,

alcándaras vacías | sin pieles é sin mantos, etc.

(*Poema del Cid.*)

En el nomne de Dios | que fizo toda cosa,

é de don Jesu Cristo | fijo de la Gloriosa.

(*Berceo.*)

En efecto, la separación entre los *hemistiquios* ó mitades de verso, no tenía

Mester trago fermoso. non es de ioglaria,¹
 Mester es sen peccado, ca es de clerezia,
 Fablar curso rinado per la quaderna uia
 A SILLAUAS CUNTADAS, ca es grant maestria.

las propiedades de la cesura, sino de la pausa; pues no vemos que fuese allí permitida la sinalefa, y por el contrario, lo era el hiato:

En esta romería | habemos un buen prado.

(*Berceo.*)

Y además, el primer hemistiquio podía ser indiferentemente agudo, grave, ó esdrújulo:

Mucho cantó *mejor* | el varón Isaia.
 Estrella de los mares | guiona deseada.
 El fruto de los árboles | era dulz e sabrido.

Los modernos han querido dar unidad á este verso evitando el hiato entre los dos hemistiquios. Así está escrito el bello poema de D. Salvador Bermúdez de Castro, *Á Toledo*:

Envueltos los cabellos en consagrada hiedra,
 los vientos de los siglos descanso y paz te den;
 duerme, Toledo, duerme, y en tu almohada de piedra
 reclina descuidada tu polvorosa sien.

La colocación de las rimas da también un viso de unidad á los versos; pero los dos heptasilabos no tienen bastante conexión entre sí, como se ve por la ausencia de toda sinalefa entre allos, y por la equivalencia del final esdrújulo al grave al fin del primero:

Aun ebrios de la última risueña bacanal.
 Triunfante, cual las águilas de su blasón, volvía.

D. Fernando de Velarde se acerca más á la unidad, haciendo constantemente grave el primer heptasilabo:

Montañas, es muy triste, muy triste contemplaros,
 del viento y de las olas rugientes al fragor;
 montañas, es muy triste, muy triste abandonaros,
 dejando en esos valles afectos; ay! tan caros,
 dejando entre vosotras perdido tanto amor."

It will be noticed that in every one of these passages, *except those from Berceo*, synaloepha occurs. This important difference in the various Alexandrines that he examined failed to strike the attention of the learned Chilean.

1. This indicates very plainly that the *mester de joglaria* was already very well known when our author was writing and hence cannot be considered as posterior to the *cuaderna vía*, although that is the conclusion one would reach from the last sentence of Hanssen's thesis *Sobre el hiato* p. 3 (cf. our citation of it, p. 40).

If there had not been a very marked habit of carelessly counting the syllables, the authors of the *cuaderna vía* would not have piqued themselves so much on counting the syllables correctly in their own poems. So then, it would seem to have been entirely within the principles of versification that these authors had set up for themselves never to admit the synaloepha¹ and to require always the hiatus, and, consequently, to count every syllable that is written. In making this statement I do not rely entirely upon the aforesaid definition². I was led to that belief by the constitution of the text of the *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*, wherein, after, trying several unsatisfactory theories, I decided to apply that of an obligatory hiatus. The justification of such a procedure is rather negative than positive. Having rigorously applied the theory of an obligatory hiatus to the text of the whole poem, we find only the following cases of imperfect hemistich. I cite always the full verse and put an asterisk before the imperfect first or after the imperfect second hemistich. It must be remembered, too, that in the text as constituted there are no emendations due to the editor.

- 9 c. * ca luego ansi prendio como de buen cimientio,
 10 b. mostraua contra ellos toda humjldat.*
 35 d. * leuaron lo ala iglesia, a Dios lo offrecieron.
 42 a. * El Obispo de la tierra oyo deste buen Christiano.*
 43 a. Canto la sancta mjssa el sacerdote nouiçio,*
 44 c. el oro margarita quando fue euangelistero.*
 52 b. * sy en mj peccare otri, temo sere culpado ;
 53 b. por amor que podiessen guardarse de todo uiçio,*
 61 a. * Muchos son los padres que fizieron tal ujda,
 69 d. * el todo esti lazerio non lo preçiaua nada.
 77 c. * quelos refiriesse, cerrasselis el camjno.*
 80 c. visco enesta uida un año e medio.*
 d. sauet que poco uiçio ouo eneste comedio.*

1. This is true whether we agree with Juan del Encina and the modern school in considering the synaloepha as a rapid pronunciation of the two vowels in contact, or agree with Nebrija in considering it as a total loss, in pronunciation, of the first of the two vowels. Cf. p. 40, notes 2 and 3.

2. In fact this passage did not occur to me until the text was wholly constituted on the theory of an obligatory hiatus.

- 103 d. *plaze me yr ala casa enna qual ella posa.
 108 d. *suffrio eneste comedio muchas aduersidades.
 114 c. *por tal omne coño este seer tan apartado,
 126 c. *contienda quelí nascio al preçioso baron,
 137 a. Tus abuelos fizieron esto sancto hospital,*
 140 b. *sy otri te lo conseia, eres mal conseiado;
 141 a. Señor bien te conseio que nada non ende prendas,*
 161 c. fara mal ala casa non temera el peccado,*
 172 b. dauan li todos tanto coño menester auia,*
 185 d. *do sierua al que nascio de la Uirgen Maria.
 189 a. *Todo esti menoscabo, esta tan grant salencia,
 191 c. auia pesar e cuita deste mal tan sobrançano,*
 195 c. *tuelli deste monesterio esta tribulaçion,
 204 d. *por vn logar bueno seer asy perescido.
 211 b. *desende bendixolo, fiçol su sacramjento,
 217 b. los dias enporcaçando, las noches en oraçion,*
 221 b. eglesia bien serujda, conuento bien ordenado,*
 238 a. *Estas que tu uedes, coronas tan honrradas,
 247 d. *fasta que mj alma salga desta carnal prision."
 252 d. *el que dado ouo al mezquino lazado.
 266 a. *Auia y vn Abbat santo, sieruo del Criador,
 268 a. *Fablo con el Rey, al que de Dios buen poso,
 300 a. *Mando alos hostaleros delos omnes pensar, ...
 c. *entro el ala iglesia al Criador rogar,
 302 d. *al torno deste enbargo sea desenbargada.
 313 d. *deue este maiamjento por siempre te membrar.
 323 d. beujr en atal ley como tu madre toujera."*
 335 b. *que fizo este confessor, sabroso de oyr,
 345 c. quelí diesse la lunbre aeste messellador*
 351 d. *mas aqual parte que sea a deujar abremos.
 362 d. Dios como lo gradesçe al qui lo puede conplir."*
 372 d. *que fazia este confessor maraglos muy ualientes.
 387 c. non quiero por tan poco las gracias menoscabar,*
 389 a. *Yendo de Sancto en Sancto faziendo romerias,
 417 c. todos tenjan que era esti mjrablo mayor*
 442 c. *fuerte mente escarmentados pensaron de serujr
 460 b. *el Mayordomo fue bueno, diogela bien medida,
 473 a. Mandamos alos fijos que ornén alos parientes,*
 493 b. *mando que se allegasse el su sancto conuento,
 498 d. fasta rendio la alma quando El ouo sauer.*
 507 a. *Entendien lo del Obispo, que bien podria estar,

- 509 c. dizian los otros, "non", mas que era deçebido.*
 514 b. *despidiose el Obispo, queria se yr su uia :
 516 a. *Como que fue, el Obispo non pudo y fincar,
 522 b. *leuaron la alos çielos, amuy grant honor,
 525 b. *que aburriron el siglo, uisquieron ençerrados,*
 529 b. *leuaron lo ala Iglesia por seer mas honrrado,
 538 c. *enfermo tan fuerte mente que era iujraçion,
 548 c. *despidiose del conuento e dela su mesnada,
 555 a. *Fueron los miembros delos dolores sanos,
 558 a. *Vn sabbado ala tarde, las viesperas tocadas,
 595 c. "Señor, dixo, tu seas laudado e gradesçido,*
 598 d. *por que quiera quele ujno assaz era mal trecho.
 605 a. *Gracias al confessor bueno ayna recabdaron,
 617 c. *semeia la seca paia e la sana bon grano,
 618 d. non me torna ayuda e tiene me en cadena.*
 623 d. al sepulcro glorioso alos piedes la echaron.*
 642 c. *fazian ante el sepulcro preçes e oraçiones,
 667 c. auja grant Clerizia por la fiesta allegada,*
 671 c. non finco enla villa njn Obispo njn Abbat *
 672 a. *El Legado misme, con tanto buen baron,
 685 b. *tollo se li delos oios la forma blanqueada.
 698 c. exio el suzio malo mas pudiente que çiguda,*
 709 a. Vido forma de omne en medio dela uzera,*
 b. *semeia bien monge en toda su manera,
 712 d. *de aquj salir non puedo, esto me faz pauror."
 718 b. *yo, Sacerdote non digno, gelas he offrescidas :
 c. *las preçes que fazen tus gentes doloridas,
 730 b. *por toda aliende Sierra, e por Estremadura,
 731 d. *denuesta al buen confessor resçibra mal galardón.*
 733 d. *el que de Toledo, si non so trascordado.
 734 a. Ribera de Henar dende apoca iornada *
 735 c. elli los menazaua de meter en farropeas,*
 737 b. *ante que amanesçiesse echaron lis celada :
 d. *fizieron grant danno en essa caualgada.
 741 d. que li diessen los omnes que fizieron este fecho.*
 747 c. *auja le de fiera gujsa el Rey amenazado,
 757 c. *de fazer este trauaio ouj muy grant deseo :
 758 b. *por este poco serujçio que enel e metido,
 764 b. existe del poblado, al yerno fuisti ujuir,*
 765 c. feziste obediencia, fuisti monge ençerrado,*
 771 b. *meti en nuestros coraçones conplida contricion,

The poem contains 775 *coplas* of four verses each and two *coplas* of five verses, making a total of 3110 verses or 6220 hemistichs. Of this number we find 98 cases of imperfect hemistich on the basis of an obligatory hiatus. Of this total of 98 imperfect hemistichs, 15 are catalectic, thus leaving only 83 that are hypermetrical and in which one might expect to find cases of synaloepha. Out of this number we must deduct 35 for hemistichs in which there is no case of final vowel followed by initial vowel, thus leaving only 48 chances for synaloepha. In 3 of these 48 cases even the admission of synaloepha would not make the hemistich normal or correct. In the remaining 45 cases the admission of voluntary synaloepha would make the hemistich correct as it stands. But, in order to correct the other 53 imperfect hemistichs we *must* have recourse to some method or methods of procedure *other* than the synaloepha, and by those same methods these 45 cases may be corrected without recourse to the synaloepha. The methods of procedure referred to are only those that the poet himself made use of in many of the correct verses of the poem and hence lie well within the ordinary usages of the language. I mean contraction, syncope, apocope, aphaeresis, dialysis, and synizesis. These will be examined in the following chapters.

We come then to the conclusion, arrived at in this negative way, that the poets of the *cuaderna via* set up for themselves an obligatory hiatus and in consequence thereof rigorously excluded all use of synaloepha¹.

1. Hanssen discerned this rule and stated it in his study *Sobre el hiato*, but he could hardly prove it because the texts on which he based his study were so corrupt that they left too many verses that were in need of emendation. There is no particular fault to find with the emendations which he proposes, but critical editions of those same texts would reduce the number of such emendations very materially. For example, Hanssen cites (*ib.*, pp. 12-14) the first fourteen *coplas* of *Santo Domingo*. In them he makes six emendations for metrical reasons. My own critical edition, based on all the known manuscripts of the poem, gives readings (without any additions or suppressions on the part of the editor) which make three of these emendations unnecessary, and tends to prove that in a fourth case the reading as it stood was metrically correct. In the other two cases Hanssen was decidedly happy in his emendations. In the three cases first mentioned the emendations that Hanssen suggested do not turn out to be the same as the readings of the critical edition. Two other

emendations are suggested for syntactical and dictional reasons respectively. The first one coincides with the reading of the critical edition and the second is rendered unnecessary thereby. In his *Miscelánea de versificación castellana*, Santiago de Chile, 1897, pp. 6-8, Hanssen makes a careful examination of the question of hiatus based on the *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, and reaches the same conclusion I have come to. His figures, however, must not be confused with mine as being an indication of the correctness of his text. My figures (p. 46) represent *all* the incorrect hemistichs in my poem. His figures do not, for he says (p. 6.):

“ Los Milagros de Nuestra Señora tienen 7.290 hemistiquios. Entre éstos, hai algunos que, en la edicion [de Janer], tienen una o varias sílabas mas de lo que les corresponde. Pero casi todos se pueden corregir fácilmente por pequeños cambios ortográficos, escribiendo *glesia, quand, com, end, est, desto, fer*, etc., en lugar de *eglesia, quando, como, ende, este, de esto, facer*, etc.;... Los hemistiquios que presentan dificultades un poco mas serias los he reunido aquí, anotando las enmendaciones que propongo.” His figures, then, apply only to the category last mentioned. Under similar circumstances we should have but one or two, if indeed any at all, to point to as offering an occasion for serious question. In his *Notas a la prosodia castellana*, Santiago de Chile, 1900, p. 1, Hanssen says that a careful study of the *Vida de San Millan* and of the *Libro de Apolonio* has confirmed his opinion concerning the hiatus and the synaloepha.

From all the foregoing discussion it will be seen that while Pietsch (*Disticha Catonis*), Chicago, 1902, p. 25, n. 81) was right in objecting to certain premises that Hanssen advanced, he was wrong in not admitting that the thesis was, in part at least, sound. The two passages that Pietsch cites in favor of synaloepha do not, according to our results, support his contention. The passage from *S. Mill.* 87 reads correctly (by synizesis in *Det*) without synaloepha, and the passage from *Milagros*, 362 also reads correctly without synaloepha, by synizesis in *Beati*. See chap. IV, Dialysis and Synizesis, pp. 60-93.

CHAPTER III. — CONTRACTION, SYNCOPE, APOCOPE. AND APHAERESIS.

The two rules just demonstrated, viz. the obligatory hiatus, and the forbidden synaloepha, were, nevertheless, very hard to follow and, as was said in the previous chapter, the poets who wrote this form of verse had recourse to certain methods of procedure well-recognized in the ordinary usage of the language : that is to say, contraction,*syncope, apocope, and aphaeresis.

I. — CONTRACTION.

Contraction is the total absorption or total omission of one of two vowels in contact. The absence of one of the two vowels in the orthography is only the visible representation of the phonetic state of the case. This must not be confused with Nebrija's definition of synaloepha, nor with that of Encina and the modern school, for they are fundamentally different¹. The following list of cases of contraction may not be devoid of interest and usefulness.

1. Hanssen, *Miscelánea de Versificación Castellana*, Santiago de Chile, 1897 ; p. 8, § 2, although he recognizes only the modern definition of synaloepha (in accord with Encina), nevertheless makes the proper distinction between the two : " La contraccion por la cual, para dar un ejemplo, se convierte *de el* en *del*, se distingue esencialmente de la sinalefa. En la sinalefa, la primera de las dos vocales no se suprime quedando perfectamente perceptible, aunque pierde su valor silábico ; en la contraccion, una de las dos vocales desaparece por completo. En los casos que voi a especificar, hai que presumir que no habia sinalefa sino contraccion, porque las vocales eliminadas no se perdian solamente en el metro sino tambien en la ortografia, i porque algunas de esas contracciones se usan todavia hoi en dia : *del, al, Monte Dora, dora* &c. "

As has already been remarked (Chap. II.), Nebrija was not so careful in keeping in mind or in bringing out the distinction between synaloepha and contraction.

AL 17 d; 26 d (full demonstrative force); 47 b (full demonstrative force); 48 c; 58 d; 62 c; 77 a; 78 d; 98 c; 113 a, c; 118 a, b; 123 c; 124 d; 126 c; 131 c; 154 b; 158 a; 163 d; 164 c; 167 c; 178 d; 181 a; 182 d; 185 d (full demonstrative force); 186 a; 200 a, b; 212 b; 252 d; 268 a, b (both with full demonstrative force); 271 c; 278 a; 296 a, b; 300 c; 301 a; 309 a; 314 b; 320 c; 345 b; 359 b; 360 b; 362 d (full demonstrative force); 364 c; 366 d; 370 b, c; 380 a, d; 385 b, d; 391 d; 396 b; 409 b; 417 a; 420 a; 423 d; 425 a; 427 a, b; 440 c; 446 a; 447 b; 450 b; 460 c; 480 c; 484 d; 486 c; 487 a; 496 d; 505 b, c; 517 a, c, d; 518 a; 512 c; 547 a; 559 d; 564 a, d; 565 b; 569 c; 574 c; 577 a; 580 b; 584 d; 586 a, c; 591 d; 596 a; 599 c; 600 b, c; 604 b; 605 a; 608 c; 610 a; 611 b; 614 a, d; 617 d (twice); 618 a; 623 d; 630 b; 631 b; 635 d; 641 a, d; 643 c; 644 d; 651 d; 653 c; 664 b; 666 d; 669 d; 693 a; 697 a; 705 a, c; 707 c; 724 a; 730 c; 731 d; 736 b; 739 a; 740 a; 741 c; 750 c; 764 b; 775 d; 777 a, d. — ANTEL (article) 142 b; 450 a; 544 a; 689 a. — ANTEL (pronoun) 607 b. — ANTELLI 600 b. — DAQUENDE 655 c. — DAVENA 355 d. — DEL (article) 1 a, c; 6 a; 21 b; 46 b; 49 c; 50 a; 61 c; 62 a; 66 a; 77 d; 103 c (twice); 104 a; 111 d; 127 b; 139 d; 151 a; 152 c; 154 d; 155 c; 156 b, d; 166 b; 176 d; 185 a; 195 a; 196 a; 207 c; 226 d; 250 b, d; 251 a, d; 252 c; 266 a, c; 267 c; 269 d; 272 c; 294 c; 308 c; 309 c; 310 d; 315 d; 321 c; 329 c; 332 b; 338 d; 339 b; 342 b; 357 a; 368 a, c; 371 a; 372 a; 385 b; 387 d; 391 b; 393 a; 406 b; 413 c; 425 b; 426 d; 430 a; 441 d; 447 a; 456 b; 461 d; 477 a; 489 b; 491 c; 507 a, b, c; 508 d; 513 c; 516 b; 520 b; 542 c; 548 c; 552 c; 553 a; 562 b, c; 565 a; 568 a; 570 b; 577 b; 583 b; 585 c; 591 d; 592 c; 596 d; 598 b; 601 a; 602 b; 604 b, d; 612 b, d; 613 a; 615 a; 619 b; 625 b; 630 b, d; 631 c; 632 b; 634 a; 669 d; 683 c; 698 a; 699 a, d; 705 d; 723 d; 727 c; 731 c; 734 d; 739 b; 744 b; 752 b; 754 c; 761 c; 762 a; 764 b; 765 d; 769 d. — DEL (pronoun) 116 d; 536 d; 735 b; 749 c. — DELLA 561 b. — DELLAS 280 b, c. — DELLI 173 d; 230 a; 336 b; 370 d; 768 d. — DELLO (masc. pron.) 209 d; 306 b; 307 b; 653 b. — DELLO (neut. pron.) 116 c. — DELLOS 1 c; 61 b; 90 d; 360 a; 438 b; 509 b; 651 b. — DESSA (demonst. adj.) 405 b. — DEST (demonst. adj.) 301 d; 341 c; 351 a; 375 a; 390 a; 409 c; 537 a. — DESTA (demonst. adj.) 247 d; 339 d; 352 a; 665 a; 684 a; 719 c; 725 a. — DESTAS (demonst. adj.) 68 d; 233 a; 637 d; 642 b. — DESTE (demonst. adj.) 42 a; 191 c; 195 c; 302 d; 488 b. — DESTI (demonst. adj.) 159 b; 286 c; 382 c; 506 a; 695 c. — DESTO (pronoun) 90 d; 379 c. — DOCA 130 d. — DOIOS 244 b. — DORA 744 d. — FASTAL 514 d. — PARAL 585 c. — PORAL 267 d. — SOBREL 478 c; 664 c. — TODEL 462 b.

Under the heading of contraction we must treat of a feature which Spanish grammarians have called *vocal embebida*, or *palabra embebida*. All the cases of contraction that we have so

far treated show that a vowel has been absorbed and it is of course true that historically all these contractions are cases of synaloepha. The difference lies in the fact that these cases, which we call contraction, show permanent synaloepha, if we may so express it: in other words the synaloepha was so constantly resorted to, in prose as well as in verse, that one of the elements became completely absorbed or lost. The reason for making a specific division for the *vocal* or *palabra embebida* is that this particular form of contraction results in the absorption and disappearance of a whole word (although the word is never more than a monosyllable), as the examples will show.

Cuervo¹ says of this phenomenon:

"Como nunca se dice *ayer un año, hoy dos meses*, me parece claro que en *ahora un año* no hubo originariamente elipsis sino sinalefa, por la cual el impersonal *ha* se incorporaba en el adverbio *ahora*. En Juan de la Encina se lee *hora un año, desde agora dos años* (*Teatro* pp. 120, 221); en Lope de Rueda *ahora ha cinco años* (*Obras*, I, p. 124); en Santa Teresa *ahora ha un año* (*Cartas*, Riv. LV, p. 230²). *ahora un año* (*ib.* LV, pp. 7², 276¹). Esta contracción es idéntica á otras que se hallan en manuscritos y ediciones de los mismos autores: *praga (á) Dios, agora (á) burlar* (Encina, *Teatro* pp. 93, 116); *pluguiera (á) Dios* (Santa Teresa, *Vida*, edición autografiada, p. 28)."

There are several cases of this phenomenon in the poem we are analyzing, and the following list will show just what words were thus absorbed. It will show, too, that the absorption may be with a preceding or with a following vowel.

189 *d.* para [a] Sancto Domjugo dar honorificencia².

218 *d.* quj [a] Adam e ad Eua bolujo con su Señor.

366 *c.* el Padre cordoioso entro asu altar.

d. como era usado. [a] al Criador rogar.

450 *b.* començo muy afirmes [a] al Criador rogar.

(Cf. 726 *d.* below.)

505 *a.* Aures grandes huespedes ante de quarto día,

505 *b.* al Rey e [a] la Reyna con grant canalleria...

1. Bello-Cuervo: *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, 7ª edición: París, 1902, pp. 97-98 of the *Notas*.

2. I print in square brackets [] the *vocal* or *palabra embebida*.

- 578 c. andaua [a] sanctuarios quantos saber podia.
 625 d. torno [a] Agosin sana, lo que ella buscaua.
 649 a. Seruan conla grant cuyta non sopo do tornar.
 b. sy non en Jhesu Christo; [e] enpeçol de rogar.
 726 d. ante començo el la açada [a] buscar.

The preposition *a* or *de* was almost always required to unite a complementary infinitive with the verb *comenzar*¹, which is used in 450 b and 726 d; consequently I have been led to consider that, in these two cases, the preposition *a* has been absorbed in *al* and in the final *-a* of *açada* respectively. The only example, in Cuervo², of the omission of the preposition with this verb is on page 211 column 1 at the beginning of the PERIODO ANTE-CLÁSICO. “‘Anda ya, escomienza andar’. L. Fernández, *Farsas y églogas*, p. 22.” The case is identical with those of our poem. The presence of the preposition would not have changed the verse of Fernández, for in that system of versification synaloepha obtained, and in the very place where the preposition *a* would stand there is even now synaloepha, and that synaloepha would not be changed by the presence of the preposition.

One might be tempted to count as another case of *a embebida* after *fue* the verse

669 d. fue caer al sepulcro del confessor honrrado.,

but from a comparison with such verses as

- 19 a. mando lo yr el padre las oucias guardar
 729 d. por poco non li yban todos besar las manos

1. That *comenzar* did not always require a connecting *de* or *á* with a following infinitive is proven by all three manuscripts in verse

568 c. començaron los monges las canpanas tañer.

but that this construction was felt to be unusual is also indicated by the reading of all three manuscripts for the verse immediately following, in which the dependent infinitive is connected with *comenzar* by the preposition *á*:

568 d. acantar el *Te Deum* ludamus apoder.

There is also the possibility that the verse 568 c has been altered and that it originally read “... la canpana tañer”, in which case we could consider the preposition *á* as absorbed in the final *-a* of *canpana*.

2. Diccionario de construcción y régimen de la lengua castellana, s. v.

it would seem that the syntax of Berceo did not require the preposition *á* to connect a complementary infinitive with the verb *ir*, for in these latter verses there is no place where the *á* could be absorbed.

This phenomenon is not peculiar to Spanish. French has such expressions as *gait apens* (for *agait a apens*, and in this expression *agait* stands for an earlier *a agait*), *ente* (for *a ente*), and *aise* (for *a aise*) in the modern phrase *Je suis aise*, etc.¹ The same is true of the modern *J'irais* for Old French *J'y irais*. Tobler has shown that not only the preposition *à* might thus be absorbed in Old French, but that *a* < HABET was frequently treated in the same way, and he called it “*ἀπερσιν εἰνός Lautes*”². The absorption of the verb *a* is also found in Spain in the early part of the seventeenth century³, in addition to the periods covered by Cuervo's examples. In Portuguese, too, the ἀπερσιν εἰνός is well-known, as witness the forms *á* (for *à a*, preposition + feminine article) and *ás* (for *à as*).

In a few of the cases in the lists from our poem, *al* and *del*, for example, the contraction seems to be obligatory; in the rest, however (and judging all the possibilities by what we actually find), it would seem that the poet was virtually free to do as he chose, or as his verse required. It will be seen, by consulting the list of imperfect hemistichs (pp. 43-45), that by the use of contraction many verses which the manuscripts present to us as hypermetrical can be restored to the norm.

II. — SYNCOPE.

Syncope is the disappearance of a medial vowel, consonant, or syllable⁴. In this section, as in the others, we shall limit ourselves to a consideration of the cases showing syncope of a Romanic vowel, consonant, or syllable. Haanssen (*Conj. de Gonz. de Berceo*, pp. 47 and 48) showed that the future and conditional tenses of verbs of the second and third conjugations were

1. See Gaston Paris in *Romania*, XXIX (1900), pp. 262-3.

2. Tobler, *Vermischte Beiträge*, I, pp. 181-187.

3. Fitz-Gerald, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xiiij (1898), 105, remark on verse 1826.

4. Lane: *A Latin Grammar*, New-York, 1898, §§ 93 and 122.

generally syncopated, and that the majority of the unsyncopated futures and conditionals of these two conjugations should be syncopated for the sake of the verse. Since this is so, we shall not give the list of such forms. Another class of even greater interest (although not so large), Hanssen mentions by contrast, in that he gives only the unsyncopated forms¹. The following is the list of such forms, in this class, as are found in our poem.

DIERDES 467 b. — FIARDES 448 c. — FIZIERDES 515 d. — FUERDES 352 b. — QUISIERDES 315 a.

We have said that this class is of greater interest than the other, and for two reasons: in the first place it includes also the first conjugation, and in the second place it represents a system of development or a tendency that the language did not carry out to its logical conclusion. Instead, the medial vowels retained, their force and the intervocalic dentals disappeared.

The last section of the same paragraph of Hanssen's study should not figure in a passage on Romanic syncope, since it treats merely the fact that the poet sometimes used a semi-learned form based directly on the Latin prototype, and sometimes the popular Romanic form.

III. — APOCOPE.

Apocope is the disappearance of a final vowel, a final consonant, or a final syllable². In the poem under consideration there is rarely, if ever, a case of the disappearance of the final consonant of a Romanic form. We are limited then, in the language of our poet, to the disappearance of a Romanic final vowel, or of a Romanic final syllable composed of a consonant + vowel. The following is the list of the cases of apocope that appear in our poem³.

1. *Misc. de versif. cast.* p. 18, § 8, 2).

2. Cf. Lane: *A Latin Grammar*, §§ 96 and 122.

3. It is intentionally that I omit such cases as *Sant* + proper name, *algun*[t], *buen*, *cien*[t], *grant*, *mal*, *ningun*[t], *segun*[t] and *un*.

- ADUR 667 d. — ALLEND 482 b. — ALLENT 421 b. — ARGENT 364 a.
BEL 335 a.
- COM 228 c. — CONSIMENT 271 d. — COSIMENT 356 b.
- DELANE 424 c; 543 c; 575 a; 579 b; 594 a; 636 d. — DEND 750 d. —
DESEND 118 b; 254 c; 570 a. — DEST 219 d; 301 d; 341 c; 351 a; 375 a;
390 a; 409 c; 537 a. — DEYUS 723 b. — DIENT 769 b. — DIZ 5 a; 72 c;
95 c; 123 a; 153 c; 165 b; 179 a; 191 b; 281 c; 311 b; 316 b; 338 b;
363 b; 375 b; 380 b; 446 b; 483 c, d; 538 b; 573 a; 619 c; 620 a; 645 c.
— DULZ 659 c.
- EN 401 d; 501 d. — END 58 d; 276 b; 325 c; 352 d; 386 a; 529 d;
533 a; 645 b; 702 d; 736 d. — ENT 60 d; 62 d. — ES 407 b. —
EST 124 b; 281 a; 576 c. — ESTONZ 286 c; 662 d; 668 b; 734 c. —
EXIST 313 b.
- FAZ 20 a; 214 d; 471 d; 712 d. — FECIST 241 c. — FIZ 178 c; 239 c.
— FIZIER 712 c. — FUENT 394 b; 581 c. — FUERT 215 b; 627 a; 733 a;
739 a; — FUIST 768 c. — FUST 309 b.
- GARCH 398 b; 415 b; 419 b. — GENT (adj.) 271 b. — GENT (adv.) 38 b.
— GENT (subst.) 175 d; 274 d; 354 b; 449 a; 566 c.
- HUMJL 326 b.
- IAZ 356 b; 573 d; 619 b. — INFANT 38 a. — JNFANT 37 a.
- LE or LO (masc. accus. of person or thing). COMENÇOL 476 a. — FAZIAL
627 c. — NOL 369 b; 595 d; 726 b. — PESOL 405 c; 686 c. — QUEL
545 c. — SACOL 732 d.
- LI (dat. of person or thing). ANDAUAL 173 b. — COMOL 563 d. —
CONTESCIOL 181 d. — DAUAL 47 b. — DIXOL 135 d; 174 a; 657 a. —
ECHOL 348 a. — FIÇOL 211 b. — FIZOL 211 d. — NJL 736 b. — NOL
47 c; 403 c; 466 d; 538 d; 562 b; 740 d. — QUEL 157 c; 182 d; 295 b;
615 d.
- LUEN 501 d.
- MAGUER 11 c; 33 c; 236 a; 284 c; 412 a; 416 a; 432 c; 454 d; 498 c;
510 b; 657 c; 674 a; 688 a; 750 b.
- ME (acc.) — SIM 315 a.
- MENT — DULCEMENT 524 c. — DURAMENT 422 d; 475 c; 654 c. —
FIERAMENT 361 b. — LEALMIENT 464 c. — LUENGAMIENT 415 d. —
SOLAMENT 364 b.
- MUCH 319 a; 506 c.
- OMNJPOTENT 271 c; 364 d. — OND 223 d; 226 c; 250 c; 261 d; 275 d;
303 c; 319 d; 372 c; 444 d; 451 d; 623 b; 675 c; 680 c; 696 c; 699 c;
714 d; 715 b.
- PLAN 334 b. — PLAZ 185 e; 237 a; 772 d. — POROND 682 d. —
PRESENT (gift) 396 a. — PRESENT (time) 364 c — PREZ 55 c — PRINCEP
199 c; 268 b. — PRUDIEN 22 c.
- QUANT 431 d. — QUIER 72 a; 226 d; 229 c (QUALQUIER); 329 d;
495 b; 676 d.
- RICART 668 b; 674 d. — ROMAN 2 a.

SACERDOT 65 a. — SE — QUIS 747 b. — SERUAN 645 c; 649 a; 655 a; 665 c; 671 d. — SOFRIST 196 b. — SUERT 464 d.

TANT 135 b; 234 c.

UAL (verb) 560 d; 618 c. — UJCENT 262 a.

VAL (noun) 72 a. — VAL (verb) 245 d; 446 d. — VENT 457 c. — VICENT 271 a. — VIN 341 a.

YAZ 573 c. — YENT 76 c; 539 c. — YUS 598 c.

As will be seen from the foregoing list the Romanic final vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, and *o* are all apocopated on occasion, as are also the Romanic final syllables *-ce* (*-ze*), *-de*, *-io*, *-se*, and *-te*. Hanssen in a long discussion endeavors to lay down strict rules as to when apocope does or does not occur in the case of each of these vowels¹. It seems to me that less definite rules as to when and

1. *Miscelánea de Versificación Castellana*, Santiago de Chile, 1897, pp. 11, § 4; 14, § 5; 15, § 6; and 16, § 7.

§ 4. DE LA *o* FINAL. Al formarse el idioma castellano, muchas palabras tuvieron dos formas distintas, por tomar el desarrollo fonético distinto rumbo en las que se encontraban al principio o en medio de una frase i en las que estaban aisladas o se hallaban al fin de una frase. Las primeras las llamaré proclíticas, las otras pausales, porque vienen seguidas de una breve interrupción del discurso.

En cuanto a la *o* final, inacentuada i no seguida de ninguna consonante, se puede dar la siguiente regla: "La *o* final se perdió casi siempre en las formas proclíticas i se conservó en las pausales." En algunos casos, existen todavía las dos formas en el castellano moderno. ***

Por regla general, se ha conservado solamente una de las dos formas, i en tal caso, ordinariamente la pausal, por ser mas clara i significativa, ha desalojado a la proclítica. (Hai excepciones, por ejemplo *he*; la forma pausal seria *haya* = *habeo*.) Esto sucedió en una época anterior a los primeros monumentos del idioma castellano, de manera que, en el mayor número de los casos, conocemos solamente las formas pausales. Sin embargo, varias formas apocopadas, procedentes de las proclíticas, existen todavía en el dialecto de Gonzalo, mientras que actualmente han caído en desuso. ***

§ 5. DE LA *a* FINAL. En cuanto a la *a* final, rejia en el castellano primitivo la misma lei fonética: se perdía la *a* en las formas proclíticas i se conservaba en las pausales. Pero, ordinariamente, las proclíticas han sido reemplazadas por las pausales, i por este motivo, hai pocos ejemplos de la apócope de la *a* final. ***

§ 6. DE LA *e* FINAL. La lei fonética que se refiere a la *e* final es un poco distinta, pues la *e* no se pierde solamente en las formas proclíticas, sino tambien, bajo ciertas condiciones, en las pausales: *razon*, *tener*. ***, etc. (La *e* seguida de consonante no se suprime: no se decia nunca en castellano, *gents*, *puents*, ***, etc.)

Las formas apocopadas se usan mucho en antiguo castellano i casi todas las palabras terminadas en *e* tienen al mismo tiempo variantes sin vocal final. ***

§ 7. DE LA *i* FINAL. *** La *i* final se conservó en antiguo portugues i se

where apocope occurs are more in accordance with the facts, for the apocopated forms are not always proclitic, nor are the proclitic forms always apocopated, *e. g. segundo* in 459 c. As mere statements of what *generally* occurs, however, Hanssen's rules are very satisfactory.

An examination of the list of imperfect hemistichs will show that by the use of apocope many of them may easily be reduced to the norm. For verse 52 b. I suggested, in the fifth chapter of my edition, the emendation *peccar* for *peccare*. Although there are no examples, in our text, of this particular case of apocope, it is not unknown to the language, as witness the forms *tomar* and *criar* in the *Fuero Juzgo*¹. These apocopated forms are, as every one knows, the regular ones in Portuguese for the Future Subjunctive.

IV. — Aphaeresis.

Aphaeresis is the loss of an initial vowel, consonant, or syllable². Here, as in the other sections of this chapter, we shall limit

cambió en *ie* en castellano. En algunos casos, la *i* de este diptongo perdió su carácter de vocal uniéndose a la consonante que precedía: *audi* = *oudi* = *adye* = *oye* = *oy*. — *teni* (*tene* en latín clásico) = *tenye*, = *teñe* = *teñ* = *ten*; véase mi artículo sobre la conjugación de Gonzalo de Berceo. En otros casos, la *i* pasó a la sílaba que precedía i suavizó la vocal: *amasti* (*amavisti* en latín clásico) = *amastye* *** = *amaiste* = *ameiste* = *ameste*. — *feci* = *fecye* *** = *feize* = *fiz*; véase mi artículo sobre la conjugación de Gonzalo de Berceo.

De esta manera, la *i* larga latina final, habiendo pasado por *ie*, se convirtió en *e* i esta *e* obedece a las mismas reglas que se refieren a la *e* común. ***

La *i* final que se halla en las obras de Gonzalo no es castellana, sino que ha sido introducida por un copista que hablaba otro dialecto. Son indicios de este hecho algunas formas erróneas: *nochi* M. 732, 1, a, M. 733, 1, b, *tardi* L. 14, 1, a, 14, 3, a, 186, 1, b, D. 132, 1, a, *tori* (en lugar de *torr*) D. 200, 1, a. Con frecuencia se halla la *i* en formas que deben ser apocopadas para satisfacer al metro: *essi* (hai que leer *es*) S. D. 15, 2, a, *elli* (hai que leer *el*) S. D. 45, 2, b. [While these emendations for the two passages from Sto. Dom. are correct enough for the readings Hanssen had before him, the newly found MS. E gives readings which make these emendations unnecessary and leave the pronouns in their unapocopated form.]

1. *Fuero Juzgo*, iv, iv, i. Si algun omne *tomar* el ninno ó la ninna echada, é lo *criar*, é los padres le conocieren depues: si los padres son omnes libres, den un siervo por el fío ó el precio.

2. Cf. Lane: *A Latin Grammar*, §§ 93 and 122.

ourselves to the disappearance of Romanic vowels, consonants, or syllables. The following is the list of the cases of aphaeresis that occur in our poem.

BISPALLIA 129 b. — BISPO 209 a; 211 a; 668 c. — NEMJGA 50 d; 329 b. — PISTOLAS¹ 38 c. — PISTOLERO 44 b.

To this list should be added at least the form *glesia*, for, although it does not occur in the three MSS. of our poem, it does occur in other works of Berceo and would, if substituted for the unaphaeresized form *iglesia*, *eglesia*, correct several of the hypermetrical hemistichs of this poem.

Hanssen, while in the main correct in his treatment of this question, seems to have mistaken one of the passages that he refers to from Cornu. His own treatment of the form *bispo* is hardly satisfactory, since he would derive *bispo* direct from the form EPISCOPUS by aphaeresis of the initial vowel *e*, and would consider the form *obispo* as borrowed from the Portuguese, with the initial *o* as article². This is probably not the correct explanation of the two Spanish forms *bispo* and *obispo*; nor is it the explanation given by Cornu for the Portuguese form³. The correct development of the Spanish forms is given by Baist, who considers *bispo* as an aphaeresized form of *obispo*, whose initial *o* is due to assimilation with the following labial⁴.

1. The MSS. give *epistolas* but I consider that to be the conjunction *e* and the word *pistolas*. It may also be a case of absorption for [e] *epistolas*.

2. Hanssen, *Miscelánea* p. 11. "Se ha perdido en castellano la *e* inicial de algunas palabras de orijen griego. *Episcopus* se convirtió en *bispo*; la forma *obispo* ha pasado por el portugues, siendo *o* el artículo (Cornu, páj. 744)."

3. Gröber, *Grundriss*, p. 744, § 104. "Die Unterdrückung des *o* in *bispo* sp. *obispo* EPISCOPUS und im Flussnamen Zézere, apg. auch Ozezar, OZECARUS, ist ein syntaktisches Versehen. Titel wie *rey*, *conde* u. s. w. hatten nämlich ursprünglich keinen Artikel, keinen auch die Flussnamen. Als der Artikel denselben beigegeben zu werden begann, wurde das anlautende *o* als solcher aufgefasst und abgetrennt."

4. Gröber, *Grundriss*, p. 700, § 33. "Die in Portugiesischen häufige Assimilation an Labiale ist selten und nur in *obispo* (n. alt *bispo*) gemein-giltig."

Initial impure S.

Another class of words that should have been included in the general list of cases of aphaeresis comprises such forms as *scarmentar*, *escarmentar* < EX + CARNEM; *scusar*, *escusar* < EXCUSARE; *spantar*, *espantar* < *EXPAVENTARE; and *straño*, *estraño* < *EXTRANEUM; because in all of them, as in the forms given in the general list, we have aphaeresis of a Romanic vowel that had a prototype in Latin. But as the resultant forms all give cases of initial impure *s*, I have preferred to treat them with the cases of impure *s* due to the aphaeresis of a Romanic initial vowel that had no counterpart in Latin; *e. g.* *star*, *sposo*, etc.

The question of initial impure *s* is somewhat confusing if one consider only the state of the manuscripts that have come down to us, for we find the preceding *e* omitted in cases where the verse requires the extra syllable, and in others, where the verse requires a syllable less, we find the vowel expressed. In still other cases the forms, whether written in full or aphaeresized, may be read in either way according to the syllabic value we grant, in the rest of the verse, to some word of indeterminable or double syllabic value. In other cases, the scribes have reproduced the forms as Berceo probably wrote them.

α. — Aphaeresis counting as such.

SPIRITAL¹ (three syllables) 120 c²; 178 d.

SPIRITU (three syllables) 1 c.

β. — Unaphaeresized forms that must be read as though aphaeresized.

ESCRIPTURA (three syllables) 5 a. E; 73 b. E; 95 c. E; 573 a, E.

ESTADO (two syllables) 83 d.

ESTAUA (two syllables) 372 c. EH; 522 a. EII.

ESTOUO (two syllables) 73 a. EH.

1. It might also be held that Berceo was here using learned forms, modelled directly on the Latin. In that case of course *Spiritual* and *Spiritu* would not be examples of aphaeresis.

2. When no MS. is indicated, all three MSS. agree in the reading.

ESCARMENTAR (three syllables) 711 d.
 ESCUSAR (two syllables) 132 d. V.
 ESPANTADO (three syllables) 654 c. EH.
 ETRAÑO (two syllables) 56 c. EV.

γ. — Aphaeresized forms that cannot be so read.

SCRIPTAS (three syllables) 63 d. H.
 SCRIPTO (three syllables) 191 b. V.
 SCRIPTURA (four syllables) 5 a. H; 73 b. H.
 STRIBOTES (four syllables) 648 d. H.

δ. — Unaphaeresized forms that may be read in either way¹.

ESCRITO (two or three syllables) 441 d. HV.
 ESPANTADOS (three or four syllables) 135 a. EV.
 ESPENDER (two or three syllables) 421 d.
 ESPIRITAL (three or four syllables) 120 a. E.
 ESPOSO (two or three syllables) 128 c. EV.
 ESTADO (two or three syllables) 293 a. EH.

ε. — Aphaeresized forms that may be read in either way¹.

SCRIPTO (two or three syllables) 441 d. E.
 SPANTADOS (three or four syllables) 135 a. H.
 SPIRITAL (three or four syllables) 777 a.
 SPOSO (two or three syllables) 128 c. H.
 STADO (two or three syllables) 293 a. V.

From the foregoing I conclude that for metrical purposes the poet was at perfect liberty to use the aphaeresized or the unaphaeresized forms of these words, according to the need of his verse; and that Berceo probably wrote the form he desired to use in each case. Recourse to aphaeresis will correct several of the imperfect hemistichs of the poem².

1. This is due to the presence in the hemistich of some word whose syllabic value is indeterminable.

2. In the cases of initial impure *s* or of initial *e* followed by impure *s*, I have scanned the verses as I believe Berceo wrote them and have not starred as imperfect the hemistichs in which there is an initial *e* too much or too little, for I believe that Berceo's original would show the *e* that is lacking, and would not show the *e* that is superfluous. The cases of this kind that have actually been admitted into the text as constituted in my edition are very rare, however, for in almost every case the scribe of some one of the manuscripts gave the form as the verse required.

CHAPTER IV. — DIALYSIS AND SYNZESIS¹.

I. — GENERAL DISCUSSION.

Another license to which our poets had recourse was the use of dialysis and synzesis. Synzesis is the coalescing into one syllable of two vowels (or a vowel and a diphthong) which belong to different syllables; and, conversely, dialysis is the separation into two syllables of two vowels which usually form a diphthong². This last, however, is really nothing but the survival of the original forms, as Hayley remarks at the end of the paragraph on dialysis. It would seem, furthermore, to judge by what Lane himself says³, that dialysis can apply only to such diphthongs as are *not* root-diphthongs. As the only root-diphthong that preserved its original sound as late as the classical period was *au*⁴ (the other original diphthongs having all disappeared about 130-90 B. C.) we shall find this restriction of dialysis applying to an extremely limited number of cases in our poem.

Müller, in his excellent treatise on Latin versification, devotes the whole of the fourth book to the consideration of vowels in contact⁵. From the great number of conflicting examples that

1. Prosodians do not seem generally to have adopted these two names. For the reasons given by Dr. Hayley (see note *infra*) §§ 2500 and 2502, they nevertheless appeared to me to be preferable to the more usual terms *diacresis* and *synaeresis*.

2. Cf. Dr. Herman W. Hayley in Lane: *A Latin Grammar*, New-York, 1898, §§ 2499-2504.

3. Lane: *Op. cit.* §§ 40 and 99.

4. *Id. ib.*, §§ 80-88.

5. Luciani Muellieri: *De Re Metrica poetarum latinorum praefer Plantum et Terentium libri septem*. Lipsiae. MDCCCLXI. Liber Quartus, pp. 242-312. As

Müller cites (not only examples showing that different authors used the same words with different syllabic values, but also examples showing that individual authors used the same word with varied syllabic values) we can reach but one conclusion, *viz.* that Latin poets were virtually unhampered in their use of dialysis and synizesis. The only restriction seems to be the one mentioned a moment ago concerning the impossibility of dialysis in the case of root-diphthongs. But as early as the classical period this restriction no longer affected anything but the root-diphthong *au*.

This same restriction seems to have been felt by Berceo. The cases in question are not very numerous and I shall present them immediately, before taking up the general question of dialysis and synizesis. I believe, subject of course to the addition of any forms that I may have overlooked, that the only forms in our poem that are affected by this rule are *claustra*, *audiencia*, and *laus*, and their derivatives¹. In the body of the verse I have found no case that required the admission of dissyllabic value for the diphthong *au* in these forms. Consequently I have been led to refuse dissyllabic value to them in the few cases in which these forms stand at the end of the hemistich, in which position

the table of contents to this work is useless, and the indices, for our present purposes almost equally so, it may not be amiss to indicate the most important paragraphs in this long chapter or book. They are as follows: (pp. 242-244) *Igitur primum omnium non licet coeuntium sine consona media syllabarum priorem esse productam, licet posteriorem. *** id artis finibus clausum nominum quorundam substantivorum siue adiectiuorum in eus ea eum exeuntium complectitur finales.* — The whole long paragraph (pp. 246-248) beginning: *Igitur regulæ illi, qua præcipitur uocales ante uocales in media uoce corripì, eximuntur communi classicorum usu e Latinis dictionibus formæ nominum in aius uel eius desinentium quaecumque habent i uocalem, ..* — The paragraph (pp. 262-263) beginning: *Iam dihaeresin ut enarremus, illa apud Romanos nisi fallor minus poetarum placitis quam usu populari prouenit.* — The long analysis of the two kinds of diphthongs (pp. 264-272) in the paragraph beginning: *Sed ad tertiam contractionis speciem ut transeamus, duo fuere apud Latinos genera diphthongarum, ex quibus prius uerarum spuriarum alterum haud inepte uocitabimus.* — The two successive paragraphs (pp. 272-276) on synizesis and Greek synizesis. — And last, the long passage (pp. 276-280) on the hiatus of vowels.

1. The etymology of the form *abze*, *auze*, 420 c, is not satisfactorily explained.

the admission of either syllabic value will in no wise affect the syllabic structure of the hemistich.

With these forms out of our way, we come to the general question of dialysis and synizesis. Dialysis and synizesis have to do with all cases of vowels in juxtaposition, whether their juxtaposition be Latin or Romanic.

Hanssen, in his *Miscelánea de Versificación Castellana*¹ sets up numerous categories, according to the position of the accent, and according to the more or less popular or learned character of the form. After having made these categories, he seems to be willing to give up some of them, for, in a note on page 23, he reduces them to four, for the cases of *-i-* in hiatus². In his treatise *Ueber die Altspanischen Präterita vom Typus ove, pude*, he groups them all together in one category *-i(-é)* in hiatus, and is correct in what he says³. But, as in his previous thesis, he does not go far enough. That is to say, he does not recognize the possibility of a change of accent from *ia* to *iá* etc. Two years later, in

1. Hanssen: *Misc. etc.*, Santiago de Chile, 1897, §§ 9-22 (pp. 18-29).

2. *Id. ib.*, p. 23. "Nota — Podemos dar las siguientes reglas sobre las combinaciones *io, ia, ie* en comun:

- a) Se disuelven si el acento carga sobre la *i*.
- b) Se contraen si son terminaciones inacentuadas.
- c) Se contraen en vocablos vulgares.
- d) Vacilan entre contraccion i disolucion en vocablos literarios.

3. Hanssen, *Ueber die Altspan, Prät. etc.*, Valparaiso 1898, pp. 64-5.

"Wenden wir uns nun zum Altspanischen, so ergibt sich auf den ersten Blick, dass Gonzalo de Berceo andere prosodische Gesetze befolgt als Garcilaso de la Vega. Bei Gonzalo sind *ia, io, ie, éa, éo*, etc. zweisilbig. Das ist die Regel. Ob dieselbe einige Ausnahme zulässt, wird sich zur Zeit wohl schwerlich bestimmen lassen. Darauf kommt es auch gar nicht an. Nun frage ich, warum sind bei Berceo die Endungen *-ia, -io, -éa, -éo*, zweisilbig, warum sind auch *guie* S. Dom. 474 und *rien* Duelo 33 zweisilbig, und warum ist die Endung in *tenié* einsilbig? Wie erklärt sich die Verschiedenheit der Behandlung der ersten und der dritten Person des Singulars? (Die Möglichkeit, dass der Unterschied von *tenía* 1 und *tenié* 3 eine Erfindung Gonzalo's wäre, ist natürlich ganz ausgeschlossen, vergl. z. B. die Dokumente von Silos, die Uebersetzung der Gotengeschichte, den Auszug aus der Chronik Alfonso's. Alle gut herausgegebenen castilischen Texte bestätigen die Regel.) Wollte man trotzdem immer noch Verschleifung in **tenié* annehmen so wäre doch schliesslich darauf aufmerksam zu machen, dass Verschleifung in betonter Stellung am Versende unmöglich ist: **sedí-en* müsste dann mit *ri-en, fi-en, guí-en* reimen und könnte nicht mit *bien, Sayen, detien* im Versauslaut derselben Strophe erscheinen."

his *Notas á la Prosodia Castellana*, he again treats the same question, denies monosyllabic value to these combinations, and ignores the possibility of a shift of accent in them¹. This passage offers several statements which hardly coincide with the facts as exhibited in the critical text of *Santo Domingo* and in the preceding chapters of this study, or as they will be seen in this and the following chapters. In the first place the terminations cited are not always dissyllabic, as the examples which we shall examine will show, and the apparent exceptions are not to be found *solely* in the imperfect tenses of the second and third conjugations. In the second place the synizesis used by later poets was also used by earlier and contemporary poets, so that we cannot claim that the poets of the *cuaderna vía* did not know this license and that it would be an unpardonable error to admit it in their poetry. In the third place, we have seen in chapter I (pp. 28-35) that no unvarying and exclusive conclusion can be reached regarding the syllabic value of these terminations so far as the *cuaderna vía* is concerned, and that the authorities, from the earliest metrical treatises down to those of our own times, are at variance among themselves upon this point, and do not all agree with Hanssen in claiming that synizesis can occur *only* in the body of the verse.

It would be neither desirable nor profitable to set down here a

1. Hanssen, *Notas etc.*, Santiago de Chile, 1900; pp. 16-18.

" § IV. La Prosodia de las Terminaciones *ia, io, ie, éa, éo, ías, íos, íes, éas, éos, ían, íen, éan.*

Sobre la prosodia de Gonzalo de Berceo, he tratado en la Miscelánea de versificación castellana. Parece que este poeta no conoce otra prosodia de las formas que están en cuestion que *día, querría, río, tardío, guíe, rien, sêa, sêas, Bercêo, lêo*. Hai aparentes excepciones únicamente en los copretéritos: *tenia, avias, venias* etc. Aplicar a éstos la sinéresis que usan los poetas posteriores, sería un error imperdonable. Se puede probar por un razonamiento basado en las condiciones del texto del poeta i en las rimas que, en estos casos, hai que escribir necesariamente *tenié, aviés, vinién*.

Aun mas nos apartaríamos de la verdad, si tratáramos de explicar la prosodia de las formas *tenie, avies, vinien* por medio de la misma sinéresis que emplea la escuela italiana en *tenia, avias, venian*. Basta saber que la sinéresis se halla solamente en el interior del verso i nunca al fin. Por lo tanto *tenien* consonaria con *ri-en, fi-en, gui-en*, i no con *bien, Sayen, detien*, lo que sucede en realidad, véase *Über die altspanischen Präterita vom Typus ove pude*, § 6, 4. "

complete list of all the cases of dialysis and synizesis that are found in our poem. No one has gone to such pains to examine this question as has Hanssen, and, although, in the light of these newer documents and a critical edition, his conclusions do not always stand, in general they were sound, considering the documents on which they were based. The work done by Hanssen has, however, made much easier the work of his followers, and I believe that the best way to get at this question of dialysis and synizesis is to examine all the cases he cites from our poem, and control them on the new edition of the text. This examination is made in the Appendix, and from it one will see that I deem so many categories an unnecessary refinement. There are many cases of vacillation, between the use of dialysis and synizesis, that Hanssen admits in his various categories. Add to them those classes in which I have been able to show vacillation and we have practically no categories left. This brings us to what I believe was the real state of things, *viz.* that the poet was virtually untrammelled in his use of dialysis and synizesis. In this usage, the poets of the *cuaderna vía* (to judge them all by our poem) were but continuing the liberty of their Latin predecessors.

That they were not absolutely free has been admitted in the course of this argument. To summarize briefly the exceptions that I have noticed to this virtual freedom, they are the diphthongs *ie* < *ē* in the Latin, and *ue* < *ö* in the Latin (these two cases Hanssen stated); and root-diphthongs like the Latin *au* in *claustrum* and the Germanic *ai* in *laid*¹.

Mention was made a few pages earlier of the possibility of a shift of accent from *ia* to *îa* etc. We have seen in the preceding paragraphs that the poet was free to count these combinations as one or two syllables, so we have now to examine only the question of accent.

1. One might be tempted to see in the first hemistich of verse 77 c

* *quelos refiriesse, cerrasselis el camjno* *

an exception in favor of reading *ie* < *ē* as two syllables. As it is the only example of its kind that I have found in my text (and the rest of the verse is also incorrect), I have preferred to call the hemistich imperfect.

The orthography may be considered as throwing a little light on this subject. An examination of such forms as 10 c. E *traya*, H *traye*; 12 a. E *trahya*, H *traye*; 16 a. E *oya*, H *oye*; 22 d. E *fuya*, H *fuye*; 32 c. E *teniasse*, H *teniesse*; 39 a. E *leya*, H *leye*; 40 c. E *oya*, V *oyè*; 122 c. H *querriello*; 122 d. E *temjasse*; 170 d. E *reuediasse*, H *reueyese*, V *reveyese*, might very well lead us to think that these forms were read, or sung, *tra-yá*, etc. It is also interesting to note that in the form *seyia*, 45 d., the scribe of H took the pains to put an accent on the letter *y* to indicate, apparently, that it bore the tonic accent and had syllabic value, *se-ÿ-ia*, corresponding to its etymology *sēdītia*, plural of *sēdīle*¹. The scribe would hardly have been to such pains if the letter *y* had not usually stood for consonantal value. Coupled with this matter of orthography we find some food for thought in the rimes of the following passages: 481 *ridia* — *entendia* — *furia* — *caya*; 492 *malaptia* — *dia* — *plazenteria* — *companja* (for *compañá* for *compa-ñiá* for the usual *compañia*)²; and 629 *dias* — *folias* — *tias* — *radias* (where one of the possibilities in 629 c, viz., the reading *tiós*, as one syllable, would permit the scansion *ti-ás*, although I do not believe that the verse *was* so read)³. A still more significant passage, however, is the strophe 482, whose rime in E is *comjan* — *estan* — *cadian* — *entendian*. To my mind this is convincing evidence that the accent of the terminations *-ia*, *-ias*, etc. might be *-iá*, *-iás*, etc.; and furthermore that synzesis and shifting of the accent were both possible *at the end of the verse*. As we have seen in previous chapters, many prosodians deny this and claim that at the end of the verse such combinations always form a grave or paroxytonic termination to the verse. A still further indication that the accent might fall on the second part of these combinations is the rime in 8, *sabria* — *devinaria* — *Maria* — *via*, where the reading of V, which Hanssen was using, requires

1. Menéndez Pidal, *Romania* XXIX, 371-2.

2. Of course it is very possible that we have here only a scribal error in the omission of the tilde and that the form should read *compañja*. But even this orthography favors *compañjá* rather than *compañja*.

3. Still, if *mí-os* gave *miós*, why not *tí-os* > *tiós*? See Hanssen, *Das Possesivpronomen in den Altspanischen Dialekten*, Valparaiso, 1897, pp. 22-24.

in the third verse the scansion *devinari-á*. This in turn makes it necessary to scan the first, second and fourth verses with the ending *-ia* in each case as a monosyllable, with the accent on the second element, *-iá*. The same is true of the rime in 185, *ujuja — podia — hermjtanja — Maria — mja*, where the reading of II makes necessary the scansion *podí-á*, which in turn makes it necessary to scan the first, third, fourth and fifth verses with *-ia* monosyllabic and accented on the second element, *-iá*. To these we must add the rimes 684 *malaptia — mongia — plazenteria — maestria*, where one of the possibilities of scansion gives the last rime-word as *mae-stri-á*; and 751 *sabria* (1st) — *aprendia* (1st) — *mja — folia*, where the possibility of reading the verb form *seria* (3rd) as only two syllables (Hanssen would insist on the emendation *serie* (3rd) which he claims counts for only two syllables) gives the scansion *fo-li-á*.

Hanssen says that the diphthong *ie* does not generally rime with *é*¹. This statement is correct in general, but in its tacit implication that they never do, or rather should, rime it is open to objection; and the examples we have just examined tend to prove that *iá[n]* can easily rime with *á[n]*, so why not *ié[n]* with *é[n]*? Furthermore, Hanssen's theory forces him to make many emendations in passages that without this rule need no emendation. If we bear in mind how unreliable were the documents upon which Hanssen was obliged to depend, we shall realize more readily that emendations of any kind in these poems were not precisely conservative. The passages he cites from our poem as needing emendation seem hardly to support his theory, when examined in the light of the new material². We have

1. Hanssen, *Sobre la pronunciación del diptongo ie*, Santiago de Chile, 1895, p. 5: "Resulta que, por regla jeneral, el diptongo ie no consuena con la vocal e, véanse las desinencias ie i e, iemos i emos, iella i ella, iello i ello, ienda i enda, ientes i entes, iera i era, iero i ero. Consuena, por ejemplo, en las estrofas que terminan en emos solamente el presente de indicativo de la segunda conjugacion, el presente de subjuntivo de la primera conjugacion, i el futuro, miéntras que en las estrofas terminadas en iemos consueñan los imperfectos i pretéritos de la segunda i tercera conjugacion."

2. *Id. ibid.*, [continuing from where the previous citation stopped]: "Observando esta regla, podemos corregir el testo del poeta en varias partes: *** Sacr. 104, offrenda, comprenda, renda, defienda. Hai que escribir defenda,

analysed only those verses in which Hanssen has proposed to emend in accordance with his rule that *ié* does not generally rhyme with *é*. But we have seen that in spite of his theory and his attempt to change and make uniform many rimes that the manuscripts present as not being uniform, Hanssen has been obliged to admit several (three to be exact) couplets in which the rime is not uniform and which he makes no attempt to reduce to uniformity. An examination of Hanssen's two lists of rimes, *é* and *ié* (I mean, of course, those passages, under each list, that he cites from our poem) in comparison with the readings of all the MSS. would probably show many other cases of what Hanssen calls 'vicious' rime, if we may judge by the following verses (for it must be remembered, as was mentioned a moment

i esta forma se encuentra Mil. 373, pero Berceo usa tambien la forma defienda, S. Dom. 774. [The correction is not necessary, and the very passage cited from Santo Domingo gives in H the rime: *defenda — ençienda — comienda — contienda*, a rime to which Hanssen objects in *Sacr. 104.*] *** *S. Dom. 392 firmemient, omnipotent, aturadament, gent. Hai que escribir firmement, véase solamente S. Dom. 364.* [MS. E reads, in *S. D. 392, firme mente — Omnipotente — aturada mente — gente*; but MS. H gives the first verse in *mente* and MS. V gives it in *mient*, the remaining three verses being in each MS. respectively *-ente* and *-ent*. The other passage cited from *S. D.* shows no variation in the rime-vowel in any of the MSS.] *** *S. Mill. 290 denodament, yent, present, desobedient. Hai que escribir gent, véase S. Dom. 271, 392.* [In the first passage cited from *S. D.* all the MSS. give the form *gent*, but it is to be noted that H gives the last verse of the couplet in *consimiente*. The second citation we have just examined.] *** *Varias veces hai que escribir yentes en lugar de gentes. S. Dom. 372.* [All the MSS. agree in the reading *gentes*; and H gives the last line in *valentes* rhiming with *parientes — gentes — mjentes.*] *** *Hai que escribir pagamiento en lugar de pagamento S. Oria 45, véase S. Dom. 116, 188.* [It is true the V, in *S. D. 116*, gives the four verses in *— iento*; but EH agree in giving the first verse in *-ento*, and the other three verses in *-iento*. The same thing is true of couplet 188] — *Hai que escribir sonnolientos en lugar de sonolentos S. Dom. 374.* [E gives all the verses as rhiming in *-ientos*; but H, although it has an erroneous reading for the third verse of the couplet, nevertheless agrees with V in giving the rime *-entos* for that verse, and *-ientos* for the other three.] *** *Hai que escribir escribieron en lugar de escriberon S. Dom. 227.* [EH make the change suggested; but H also closes the third verse of the couplet in *diceron*, whereas all the other verses close in *-ieron.*] ***

Sin embargo, se encuentran algunas estrofas, aunque son pocas, en las cuales consueñan e e io:

Loor. 31 oriente, creyente, omnipotente, presente

Mil. 668 quiero, sendero, verdadero, cellero

Ilmn. 2, 2 Gabriel, miel, fiel, Abel. "

ago, that for the purposes of the rime the cases of *iá* — *á*, *ión* — *ón*, etc., can hardly be separated from those of *ié* — *é*):

- 38. psalteriado — decorado — priuado — ualdado.
- 40. bendiçion — uaron — oraçion — coraçon.
- 42. Christiano — loçano — mano — cantano.
- 74. temptaciones — sermiones — tribulaçiones — coraçones.
- 106. sana — cutiana — mañana — Christiana.
- 118. oraçion — bendiçion — consolaçion — perfeçi-on.
- 130. Le-on — Carri-on — generaçion — moion.
- 186. afolgar — cambiar — acordar — tornar.
- 344. liujano — mano — Christiano — cutiano.
- 371. escapo — canto — basteçio — prometio.
- 485. palançiano — Christiano — sano — mano.

We conclude then that for the purposes of the rime the poet was undisturbed by any consideration concerning the vowel, semi-vowel, consonant or consonant group that might precede his tonic rime-vowel; and that this liberty (which is only a variation of his liberty in general to use synizesis or dialysis according to his needs) extended to the forms of the imperfect tense of the second and third conjugations, whether they appear as *-ia* or as *-ie*¹.

We have thus already entered upon the problem concerning the form or forms of the imperfect indicative of the second and third conjugations, and concerning the pronunciation of the combinations *-ia* and *-ie* in these forms. A further discussion of this question will be found in the following section, which is devoted to the various problems offered by these forms.

II. — THE IMPERFECT INDICATIVE OF THE CONJUGATIONS II AND III².

As was seen in the preceding paragraph, the subject of the treatment and pronunciation of the endings of the imperfect indicative of II and III is intimately related to the general subject of dialysis and

1. Pietsch (see note 2, p. 11) has given, on page 35 of his study, additional proofs for the accentuation *-ie* and the riming of *-ie* with *-é*. Cf. also note 1, p. 70 of this present study.

2. This discussion will of course include the conditional of all three conjugations.

synthesis. Possibly no other of the various problems we have had to examine in the versification of the *cuaderna vía* has been discussed by so many scholars as has this one of the imperfect endings.

Baist remarks that in Old Spanish the endings *-ie*, etc., existed with noteworthy frequency beside the endings *-ia*¹. In 1894, Hanssen published a study concerning this problem and first called attention to the fact that in the Old Spanish documents the predominant forms are: 1, *-ia*; 2-6, *-ies*, *-ie*, *-iemos*, *-iedes*, *-ien*²; in other words that the first person singular usually shows the vowel *a*, and that the other five persons usually show the vowel *e*. Then he states that in these five persons the *ie* of the ending form a diphthong and that the *e* always bears the accent, so that the usual paradigm will read 1, *-ia*; 2-6, *iés*, *ié* etc.; and that any forms that differ from this model are exceptions³.

1. Baist, *Grundriss* I, 712.

2. The persons of the verb are numbered from 1-6.

3. Hanssen, *Sobre la formación del imperfecto de la segunda i tercera conjugación castellana en las poesías de Gonzalo de Berceo*. Santiago de Chile, 1894, pp. 1-2. "Sabido es que en castellano antiguo los imperfectos (copretéritos) de la segunda i tercera conjugación presentan con frecuencia la vocal *e* en lugar de la vocal *a* que hoy en día se usa sin escepcion. Seria, pues, ésta la conjugación del imperfecto del verbo *tener* :

Sing. 1 *tenia* o *tenie*
 2 *tenias* o *tenies*
 3 *tenia* o *tenie*
 Plur. 1 *teníamos* o *teníemos*
 2 *teniades* o *teníedes*
 3 *tenian* o *tenien*

Si no me equivoco ***. esta ha sido la opinion de todos los gramáticos que han tratado sobre esta materia: i creo que digo una novedad, si afirmo que en los monumentos mas antiguos del idioma castellano, la primera persona del singular presenta casi siempre la vocal *a*, mientras las otras personas i todo el plural en el mayor número de los casos tienen la *e*. Además, hai que saber que esta *e* con la *i* que precede forma diptongo, llevando siempre el acento tónico. Por este motivo habra que reemplazar el modelo que pusimos arriba por el que sigue :

Sing. 1 *tenía*
 2 *teníés*
 3 *teníe*
 Plur. 1 *teníamos*
 2 *teníedes*
 3 *teníen*

Esta es la conjugación usual del imperfecto de la segunda i tercera conjuga-

He adds, too, later in his study, that these exceptions should be emended to conform to the model. No reason is given by him at this time for the assertion that the *e* always bears the accent and that the combination *ie* counts for but one syllable¹. A further natural deduction from what Hanssen says is that the combination *ia* always counts for two syllables and that the accent is always borne by the *i*. The all-inclusiveness of these statements is against them. Wherever Hanssen has said that his rules give the usual or general state of the case he is correct, although the rules are less general in their scope than he supposed; but the exceptions are too numerous to be treated as mere exceptions. I find serious cause to differ with him only concerning his opinion that the combination *ie* was *always* monosyllabic and that it *always* was accented on the second element, *ié*; and concerning the implied opinion, which later is plainly stated, that *ia* was *always* dissyllabic and was *always* accented on the first element, *ia*. Here again, the exceptions are too numerous to be treated merely as such.

I have just said that Hanssen's general rule for the paradigm (regardless of accent or syllabic value) is correct, although less

cion en las poesías de Berceo, i son escepcionales las formas que no corresponden al modelo indicado. "

1. On pages 11 ss., Hanssen gives the proof for monosyllabic value in the combination *ie* etc., and, on 31, offers an example to prove that the accent could fall on the second element. The example in question is *S. Oria* 148, *sedien — entendien — havien — bien*. It is not, however, entirely conclusive, for there is considerable evidence in favor of the theory that the diphthong *ie* < *ē* was at an early period accented on the first element, *ie*; and we are not yet sure regarding the period when the shift of accent took place. There is evidence in our author to show that during the period in which he wrote the change was taking place and that usage had not yet become fixed. For example in *Loores* 29 we have the rime *maraviella — estrella — puncella — ella*. This proves the accentuation *ié* to have been known to Berceo, as does also the reduction of *maraviella* to *maravella* in *Duelo* 113 a, and in *Milagros* 820 b, and the rime (showing the same reduction of the diphthong) *Milagros* 327, *maravella — ella — estrella — poncella*. On the other hand, the modern form *maravilla* (*Milagros* 516 d; *S. Oria* 148 c), could develop only from *maraviella* persisting long enough to have disengaged a *j* from the *ll*, thereby forming the triphthong *iei*, which would naturally reduce to *i*: *maraviella* > **maravieilla* > *maravilla*.

Further indications of the same vacillation are to be found in the *Misterio de los Reyes Magos*. See Baist, *Zeitschrift* IV (1880), p. 586, and Gaston Paris, *Romania*, IX (1880), p. 468, note 1.

general than he supposes it. I mean that due weight is not granted to manuscripts that present only forms in *-ia* throughout the paradigm. For example in the *Sacrificio de la Misa* Sánchez uses for the first 250 *coplas* the MS. of the Royal Library which is of the XIV. century. But that MS. does not contain the rest of the poem. To complete his work Sánchez used a copy, belonging to the Revmo. Ibarreta, made, so the Revmo. Sarmiento says, from the XIII. century codex of San Millán. The point of importance is that the MS. of the Royal Library gives almost constantly the imperfect endings (except the 1st person) in *-ie*; but from *copla* 251 to the end we find almost constantly all the endings in *-ia*. This means that the MS. from which it was taken probably produced throughout the imperfect tense of II and III in *-ia*. To this fact Hanssen gives no weight, but treats the cases from this MS. in the same way as the relatively sporadic occurrences of the endings *-ia* in the other MS. Furthermore, according to his own statements (pp. 11, 20, 21, 24, 25, and 30) he rules out all the cases of *-ia* etc., that he finds in the poems *Loores*, *Signos*, and *Santa Oria*, where the MS. in each case gives almost constantly the endings *-ia*.

To these facts, which Hanssen had before him, we must add the following. According to the classification that I was obliged to set up for my edition we have MS. E, the most nearly complete and the best of all the MSS., which shows almost always (I think indeed it would be safe to say always) the endings *-ia* etc., for all the persons of the imperfect. MSS. HVH² belong to another family, and show just as constantly the endings *-ie*. But V² belongs to the same family as E and shows almost constantly the endings *-ia*. This means that of the three MSS. EH²V², that preserve practically the whole poem, two, EV², show constantly *-ia* endings throughout the paradigm. The two incomplete MSS. HV. and the complete MS. H² show constantly *-ie* endings throughout the tense. Furthermore, EHH² are all contemporary. Concerning the dates of VV² we know nothing, except that, according to Vergara's own statement, V² is a later MS. than V. To me it has seemed unsound to ignore the fact that the best two MSS. that we have for our poem show *-ia* endings. So I have constantly used them as of equal weight with

the others. This was my reason for claiming that Hanssen's general rule (1 *ia* ; 2-6 *ies* etc.) was less general than he supposed. Consequently (omitting for the present the questions of accent and of syllabic value) I should favor the parallel schemes

1	-ia	-ie
2	-ias	-ies
3	-ia	-ie
4	-iamos	-iemos
5	-iades	-iedes
6	-ian	-ien

There is also a pronounced tendency, which must be recognized, in favor of the hybrid scheme 1 *-ia* ; 2-6 *-ies* etc. ; but I do not feel justified in admitting that the tendency produces such an overwhelming majority that we should treat as exceptions to that single mixed scheme the many forms of 1 *-ie* and of 2-6 *-ias* etc., that we find in our various MSS.

On the strength of his interpretation of the examples he has collected from Berceo's complete works (an interpretation that denies any value to the examples found in the four *ia*-manuscripts that he was acquainted with for as many different works of our author), Hanssen claims that the forms in *-ia* were unknown to Berceo. To establish just what forms were known to Berceo is extremely difficult since the oldest manuscripts that we now possess belong to the XIV. century. Sánchez, who gives very few details concerning the MSS. that he published (especially those from San Millan, which he seems never to have seen and to have produced only from copies made there for him), doubts the age of the one MS. that is referred to as belonging to the XIII. century. and prefers to it a MS. that he has before him and that belongs almost certainly, he believed, to the XIV. century. The documents that we possess, however, concerning Berceo are as follows :

- 1 — *Santo Domingo* : five MSS. : two complete, show forms in *-ia* ; one complete and two incomplete, show forms in *-ie*.
- 2 — *San Millan* : apparently only one MS. : it shows *-ie*.
- 3 — *Sacrificio de la Misa* : two MSS. : one complete, shows forms in *-ia* ; one incomplete, shows *-ie*.

- 4 — *San Lorenzo*: apparently two MSS. : both incomplete,
and both showing *-ie*.
 5 — *Loores*: apparently only one MS. : complete and shows *-ia*.
 6 — *Signos*: » » *-ia*.
 7 — *Milagros*: » » *-ie*.
 8 — *Duelo*: » » *-ie*.
 9 — *Santa Oria*: » » *-ia*.

Thus for a total of nine works we have apparently fifteen MSS., ten complete and five incomplete. Of the ten complete MSS., six show forms in *-ia*; the other four complete MSS. and the five that are incomplete show forms in *-ie*.

Hanssen in this study of the imperfect made no attempt to explain the tendency toward the hybrid paradigm 1 *-ia*, 2-6 *-ies* etc. Zauner, however, in his review of this study, makes several very interesting suggestions¹. His review was made before he had received Hanssen's study on the Possessive Pronoun, published in 1897. Before looking at either of these studies, however, we need to take into consideration Hanssen's two articles, on the pronunciation of the diphthong *ie*, and on the conjugation of Berceo, both of which appeared in 1895, and in the order mentioned. In the former of these two articles Hanssen tries to prove his contention that the accent of the diphthong *ie* was on the second element (*-ie'*), as opposed to the opinion of Baist and Cornu that the accent fell on the *i* (*-ie*). Hanssen in this article relies chiefly on the rime. But the riming of *ie* with itself proves nothing and the only rimes that do give indubitable evidence in favor of Hanssen's position are those that he calls 'vicious' and rejects on that account. He has proven his case this time, but he has done so with the examples that he himself rejects, and not with those he accepts². The conclusive examples referred to (in addition to those adduced in our general discussion of dialysis and synizesis) are the following :

Loor. 31 oriente — creyente — omnipotente — presente.

1. Zauner, *Literaturblatt f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, XIX (1898), 161-163

2. See pp. 66-68 of our general discussion of dialysis and synizesis.

Mil. 668. *quiero — sendero — verdadero — cellero.*

Himnos 2,2. *Gabri-el — miel — fi-el — Abel¹.*

Thus Hanssen has proven that the diphthong *ie* did bear the accent on the second element, but he has not thereby invalidated the claim of those scholars who believe that the diphthong bore the accent on the first element. Neither group of scholars is correct in insisting that its scheme of accentuation is the *only* correct one; but each group is right in maintaining that its own accentual scheme is a correct one².

In his larger study, concerning Berceo's conjugation, Hanssen expands somewhat his paradigm and we read on pages 4 and 17 respectively the schemes

<i>tenia, tenié</i>	<i>dicia, dicié</i>
<i>teniés</i>	<i>diciés</i>
<i>tenié, tenia</i>	<i>dicié, dicia</i>
<i>teníamos</i>	<i>diciemos</i>
<i>teníedes</i>	<i>diciedes</i>
<i>tenién</i>	<i>dicién</i>

This expansion of his paradigm is a step in the right direction and it ought to have been carried still further. In this same study, page 15, Hanssen for the first time attempts an explanation of the origin of these forms. This question will be treated later.

We now come to Hanssen's *Miscelánea de versificación castellana*, which appeared in 1897, but earlier than the article on the Possessive Pronoun. Here he develops his theory that the 1st person must *never* be *-ie*, but almost always *-ia*, dissyllabic. This is a distinct retrograde movement. If the verse will not stand a dissyllabic form, change the tense; or, as a last resort, admit the apocopated forms in *-i*: *seri, dici* etc.³. In his treatment of

1. Hanssen, *Sobre la pronunciación del diptongo, ie en la época de Gonzalo de Berceo*, Santiago de Chile, 1895, p. 6.

2. Baist, in his review of these three works (*Krit. Jahresb. der Rom. Phil.*, IV, I, 307) still refuses to consider Hanssen's examples as conclusive.

3. Hanssen, *Misc.*, p. 21. "La primera persona de singular del imperfecto de primera i segunda [*sic*, evident misprint for *segunda i tercera*] conjugación termina ordinariamente en *ia*. En mi primer trabajo he admitido en algunos

the third person Hanssen is more liberal. He says that *-ie* is more frequent, that *-ia* is found from time to time, and that in a very few cases we find the ending *-i*. These forms in *-i*, Hanssen says, do not come from the forms in *-ie*; but are proclitic variants of the forms in *-ia*.

Later in the same year Hanssen states a rule for the dissyllabic endings *io*, *ia*, *ie* etc., and says that these endings become monosyllabic as soon as they are followed by a consonant, for example, *s*, *n*, or *t*; and that *with* this change occurred the shift of accent¹. This seems hardly exact.

In 1897, interest in these problems received a new impulse through the appearance of Gassner's study of the Old Spanish verb². He had been able to use only two of Hanssen's studies: those on the formation of the imperfect, and the pronunciation of the diphthong *ie*. Gassner sets up the following paradigms for successive periods in Old Spanish.

casos, la terminacion *ie*, pero eliminada la libertad de suprimir la primera sílaba de los hemistiquios, me atrevo a proceder mas rigurosamente. Los ejemplos respectivos se pueden clasificar de la manera que sigue:

a) Se debe poner necesariamente *ia* en lugar de *ie*: [There follow eight cases of first person in *ie* where the verse requires dissyllabic value. He might have added *Mil*, 450 b, *serie enfogada*.]

b) [A list of three cases of 1st person, in the conditional, and Hanssen proposes to change them all to the future tense.]

c) S. M. 39, 4, a *del so bien non podrie*. Estando *podrie* al fin del hemistiquio, se puede escribir *podria*.

d) Dos hemistiquios no se pueden corregir con facilidad: M. 450, 3, b. *si non serie dannada*, D. 57, 1, a *dicia a los judios*. [In these two cases the verse requires monosyllabic value and we have both orthographies.] Opino que hai que poner las formas apocopadas *seri*, *dici*, véase § 5, 6.

e) Tal vez hai que introducir las formas apocopadas tambien en los hemistiquios que siguen, aunque se prestan tambien para otras correcciones: [There follow four cases of first person, three in *-ie* and one in *-ia*, but all monosyllabic.] "

1. Hanssen, *Das Possessivpronomen in den altspanischen Dialekten*, Valparaiso, 1897, pp. 22-23. "Die Formen des Plurals [of *mío*, *mía*, etc.] erklären sich durch ein Lautgesetz, das sich folgendermassen formuliren lässt. *** Die zweisilbigen Endungen *io*, *ia*, *ie*, *uo*, *úa*, *üe* werden einsilbig, so bald ein Consonant, z. B, *s*, *n* und das später geschwundene *t*, folgte. Das Resultat dieser Zusammenziehung mit darauf folgender Accentverschiebung ist *io*, *ia*, *ie*, *uo*, *úa*, *üe* = *io*, *ie*, *ie*, *o*, *üe* *üe*." [Then follows a series of examples.]

2. Gassner, *Das Altspanische Verbum*, Halle, 1897. For our purposes see especially, pp. 128-145.

First	-ía	-íamos	(later -íamos)
	-ías	-iádes	(later -iádes)
	-ía(t)	-ían(t)	
Second	-ía	*-íemos	
	*-íes	*-íedes	
	*-íe	*-íen	
Third	-ía	-iém ^o mos	
	-iés	-iéd ^o des	
	-i ^e e	-i ^e én	

Gassner's explanation of the development of the second paradigm is ingenious and not impossible. He supposes that in the very frequent use of these endings in the auxiliary and modal verbs the post-tonic *a* became weakened to *e* or *ə*, especially in the 3rd person, to which the 6th person would easily be assimilated, and later the rest of the tense, except the 1st person. From the auxiliary and modal verbs these *-ie* endings then passed to the regular conjugations. The exception in the case of the 1st person Gassner explains as due to its infrequent occurrence and also to the necessity for distinguishing it from the 3rd person. This argument was suggested independently by Zauner and immediately questioned on the ground that other tenses which show identical forms in the 1st and 3rd persons have not had any such development, *e. g.* *-aba*, *-ara*, *-iera* etc. There is this much to be said in favor of the theory advanced by both Gassner and Zauner and questioned by the latter. The various forms referred to by Zauner as militating against his theory do not have *necessarily* all the weight he attaches to them. The present subjunctive of I, *-e*, stands for but *one* tense and the verbs of *one* conjugation. The same is true of the endings *-aba*, *-ara*, *-ase*, and *are*. The present subjunctive of II, III, *-a*, stands for but *one* tense and the verbs of *two* conjugations. The same may be said of the endings *-iera*, *-iese*, and *-iere*. But the endings *-ia* or *-ie* stand for *two* tenses, one of them applicable to the verbs of *two* conjugations and the other applying to *every verb in the language*. Before such an extended use it may not seem quite so forced a theory to suppose that there *did* exist some feeling

for a differentiation of the two persons involved. It is to be noticed, too, as Gassner has said, that it is the less often used person that has been less worn away.

Gassner's explanation of his third paradigm is based upon a slight error. He says that the diphthong *ie* or *ia* does not find its parallel in Old Spanish, where the diphthong *ie* < *ē* bore the accent on the second element. Hanssen had already made the same mistake, which has been discussed (p. 70, note 1).

Gassner is the first to admit that, during the time that the forms 2-6 *-ie* etc. were so prevalent, the forms 2-6 *-ia* etc. still persisted¹. And yet he makes the same mistake that Hanssen made, in that he considers the *-ia* forms always to have been dissyllabic and paroxytonic, and the *-ie* forms always monosyllabic and oxytonic. In spite of the very numerous cases that he sees and recognizes as not harmonizing with his theory, he treats them with the same negligence as Hanssen, and says that in texts of the XII. and XIII. centuries all forms differing from the hybrid model must be emended to conform thereto². Such a position as this seems to me to be against the evidence, and

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 130. "Es bleibt endlich noch eine verschwindend kleine Anzahl von Fällen, wo die *-ia*-Form vom Metrum kategorisch gefordert wird. Die ganze erste Conjugation mit ihrem ungeheuren Wortreichthum endigt auf tonloses *-a*, die ursprüngliche Form ist, wie ja nachgewiesen wurde, ebenfalls die *-ia*-Form, und die *je*-Bildungen sind nichts weiter als von Auxiliar- und Modalverben ausgegangene und dann in weitem Umfange verallgemeinerte Formen, neben denen die ursprünglichen Formen — allerdings nur in ganz bescheidenem Ausmasse — fortwährend fortbestanden, bis sie endlich im XIV. Jahrhundert, nach einem Intervalle von zwei Jahrhunderten, wieder auf dem ganzen Gebiete zur Alleinherrschaft gelangten, die sie dann auch bis auf den heutigen Tag unbestritten behaupteten."

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 129. "Die erhaltenen Texte weisen nun aber in gar vielen Fällen die erwarteten *-ie*-Formen nicht auf; an deren Stelle erscheinen Bildungen mit dem zweisilbigen *ia*. Die ungeheure Majorität aller dieser Fälle ist aber auf die denkbar einfachste Weise zu erklären: dem Schreiber, der einem späteren Jahrhundert angehört, war die *ie*-Form nicht mehr geläufig und er ersetzte dieselbe deshalb durch die paroxytone, so dass wir — wie das Metrum klar und deutlich zeigt — in zahllosen Fällen die oxytone Form nicht nur restituieren können, sondern müssen." Furthermore on page 133 we read: "Neben den correcten *je*-Formen erscheint aber schon in den ältesten Texten eine recht grosse Anzahl von *-ia*-Imperfecten, die sich aber, wie in dem gegenwärtigen Paragraph nachgewiesen werden soll, auf einen geringfügigen Percentsatz reducieren lässt. Ohne weiteres ist die Restitution des *je* in

I prefer not to attempt to emend out of existence a set of forms which are so frequent that their very opponents are obliged to admit that they are *zahlreich* and present *eine recht grosse Anzahl* of cases even in the oldest texts. Gassner's final conclusion, then, for the forms we are discussing agrees with Hanssen in setting up, for the XII. and XIII. centuries, the one hybrid scheme 1-*ia* ; 2-6 -*ie* etc.

Porębowicz is the first to call attention to the fact that Hanssen is going against the evidence in insisting that the paradigm, 1 -*ia* ; 2-6 -*ie*, is the only one to be accepted¹. Porębowicz

folgenden Fällen möglich." And then on page 140 we read: "Wieder erscheinen in den älteren Texten zahlreiche Formen auf -ian, die sich aber in den folgenden Fällen aus metrischen Gründen kurzerhand durch die correcten -ien-Formen ersetzen lassen."

1. Porębowicz, *Revision de la loi des voyelles finales en espagnol*, Paris, 1897. p. 10, n. 3. "M. Hanssen, ***", a fait une hypothèse intéressante concernant la valeur rythmique qu'avaient les terminaisons -*ia*, -*ie*, etc. Après avoir recueilli et pesé plusieurs milliers de cas, il croit pouvoir établir le schème suivant: *tenia*, *tenies*, *tenie*, *teniemos*, *teniedes*, *tenién*, où l'accent serait descendant dans toutes les personnes à l'exception de la 1^{re}, par conséquent la terminaison ne compterait que pour une syllabe. Il est vrai que, d'après la statistique établie par M. Hanssen, les formes -*ia* pour la 1^{re} pers., -*ie* pour la 3^e seraient les plus usitées. Il semble toutefois aller trop loin, quand il ne veut faire valoir que les formes hypothétiques de son tableau, en écartant contre toute évidence les formes en -*ias*, -*ies*, -*iamos*, -*ienos*, *ian*, *ien* dissyllabiques, surtout à la fin du vers, où pourtant elles sont aussi fréquentes qu'assurées par la rime, p. ex.: *romeria*: *ermitania*: *vivia*: Maria S. Millan 187. L'ancienne versification castillane permettait de compter ces terminaisons de l'imparfait (à quoi il faut ajouter le conditionnel) pour deux syllabes, c'est-à-dire faire descendre l'accent sur la seconde voyelle, tout en conservant la diphtongue intacte, mais il paraît que ce transport de l'accent était interdit à la fin du vers. A l'appui de la prononciation -*ie* [*sic*, a probable misprint for -*ie*, since Hanssen never accepts the other form] M. Hanssen ne cite qu'un exemple sûr, celui de S. Oria 148, où *sedien*, *entendien*, *habien* riment avec *bien*; *** on peut y ajouter la str. 1283 de Hita, où *fasien*, *desien* riment avec *detien*, *bien*, et le vers douteux du Cid 297, où le mot *salie* se trouve en assonance avec: Bivar: *valdra*, par conséquent exigerait une correction (peu possible) en *salia*. [Porębowicz cites this example of course only in defense of monosyllabic value and oxytonic accentuation.] Pour la 1^{re} plur. il cite l'imparfait *ganariemos*, rimant avec le parfait *mereciemos*; *ficiemos*, ce qui ferait également supposer la prononciation monosyllabique de la diphtongue -*ie*. Ces cas exceptionnels, quand même feraient-ils admettre telle prononciation, ne sauraient prévaloir contre les témoignages anciens et modernes qui défendent expressément cet abus à la fin du vers [We have seen the proofs for and against this habit on pages 28-35 and 60-68]; quant à l'interieur, l'emploi des formes -*ia*, -*ie* cesse complètement dans la poésie érudite

remarks that in so doing he brushes aside all the evidence that we have for the forms *-las*, *-les*, *-íamos*, *-íemos*, *-ían*, *-íen*. Part of the evidence that Porębowicz adduces in support of these forms is not, however, absolutely conclusive, viz., the rimes like S.Mill. 187: *romeria* — *ermitania* — *vivia* — *Maria* (Cf. pp. 70 ss.). Porębowicz's next statement (concerning the possibility of shifting the accent and counting the combination as two syllables) contains an infelicitous expression: Old Spanish versification allowed these terminations to count for two syllables, that is to say, make the accent fall on the second vowel, *tout en conservant la diphthongue intacte*. The moment the combination or juxtaposition of two vowels counts for two syllables it would seem as though the diphthong must cease to exist, so that it would be impossible to preserve intact the diphthong if we count the combination as two syllables. Porębowicz should have said that Old Spanish versification permitted the shift of accent and that with the accent in this new position the combination might form a single syllable (diphthong) or two syllables. The example Porębowicz cites from P.C. 297 *salie* in a pure *á* assonance proves, in spite of his objection thereto, that the form must have been *salíä*. Whether the ending counted for one or for two syllables cannot be proven from this passage. The rime we have previously cited from E of our poem of Santo Domingo 482 proves that the combination *íä[n]* could be monosyllabic. Our previously cited rimes S.Dom. 8 and 185 prove, according to V and H respectively, the possibility of scanning the ending of the first person as dissyllabic and oxytonic, and of riming it with the similar verbal and nominal endings counted as monosyllabic and oxytonic (Cf. p. 65-66).

We have already mentioned Zauner's review of Hanssen's study of the imperfect and have seen that his objection to his own and Gassner's hint concerning the cause of the differentiation of the 1st and 3rd persons is not so grave as he feared. So far in our examination of the history of this discussion we have

et artistique des maîtres en Gay saber, comme p. ex. dans le Cancionero de Baena, le Cancionero de Gomez Manrique, etc. La manière archaïque entra de nouveau dans la poésie castillane sous l'influence de l'italien au xvi^e siècle. "

found scholars generally agreeing with Hanssen in the scheme 1 -*ía*; 2-6 -*ies*. Porębowicz, while admitting this scheme, insists that there is plenty of evidence to establish a dsecon, and even a third, scheme which should read -*ías*, *ies*, etc. Zauner, on the contrary, while confessing that the forms *ie*, etc. are not inconceivable, insists that the accent was on the first element (*ie*) throughout. The table that Zauner sets up for the earliest period of Spanish reads: -*ía*, -*ies*, -*ia*, -*íamos* (-*íamos*), -*iades* (*iedes*), -*ien*. He formulates his rule that 'after *i* final *a* remains, but becomes *e*, when followed by a consonant.' The same rule applies originally to substantives: Sing. -*ía*, Plu. -*ies*. After calling attention to the noteworthy fact that texts which show an overwhelming preponderance of -*ie* forms in the verbs, give almost no substantive plurals in -*ies*, he explains this fact as being due to the early influence of analogy: the singular in -*ía* (supported by all the substantives in Sing. -*a*, Plu. -*as*) attracting its plural to itself and giving -*ías*. He opposes Hanssen's theory that the 3rd person was always -*ie* and never rimed with the 1st person. In defense of his own supposition that the 3rd person was originally -*ia* Zauner cites the forms *prendia* (3rd), *queria* (3rd), *queria* (1st) in a perfect *i-a* assonance (P.C. 275 ss.), and claims that the Latin final *t* of the 3rd singular had probably disappeared so early as to leave the *a* final, and hence like the 1st. The change to -*ie*, according to Zauner, then took place by analogy with the 6th person, by which process we should already have a means of differentiating it from the 1st. Zauner explains the later predominance of the -*ía* forms as due to analogy with the atonic *a*-endings of the imperfect of the verbs of 1st. From Hanssen's position Zauner sees no means of explaining the modern forms².

In 1898 Hanssen attempts anew the defense of his position. He does not answer the example cited by Zauner from P. C. to prove 1st and 3rd persons in an *i-a* assonance, but repeats the rimes taken from *Santa Oria*, *Alexandre*, and *Reyes de Oriente* (which are not conclusive), and omits those from *Loores*, *Mila-*

1. Zauner: *Literaturblatt f. germ. u. rom. Phil.*, XIX (1898), 161-164.

2. Zauner: *Litbl. f. g. u. r. Phil.*, XX (1899), 33-34.

gros and *Himnos* (which are conclusive). In this new article he adds two more rimes (*Poema de José*, 21, *bien* — *Sayen* — *yacien* — *verien*; and *Juan Ruiz* 1283, *fazien* — *dezien* — *detien* — *bien*), and both are unconvincing. It is to be noted, too, that in the edition, by Menéndez Pidal, of the other MS. of the *Poema de Yûçuf*¹ the passage referred to gives the following verse-ends: *bu"eno* — *Xeyana* — *jazi'ana* — *beri'an*. In Ducamin's edition of *Juan Ruiz*², the passage referred to reads (the numbering being different, in this edition the *copla* is 1309): *fazjen* — *dezjen* — *detyen* — *bien*. But the two older MSS. read *fazjan* and *desjan*, *dazy[an]* for the first two verses.

The next point raised by Hanssen in support of *tenié* is the analogy of *pidió*; and finally the fact that in III the combination *-i + vowel* brought about umlaut *pedi*: *pidió*, etc. Hanssen's last defense of his position is on metrical grounds, but we have already seen (pp. 60-63) that his position is unsound in its exclusiveness³.

This last article of Hanssen brought forth one of the most succinct and convincing studies that we have had on this difficult problem. I refer to Zauner's article on *Das Imperfectum II III im Altspanischen*⁴. But Zauner also argues against the evidence when he denies the pronunciation *-ié*. The positive part of his study (that the forms could be accented *-ias*, *-ies*, etc.) is correct. He disproves Hanssen's theses that "substantives in *-ia* can stand in rime only with the 1st imperfect, and not with the 3rd"; and that "the 1st and 3rd imperfect cannot rime with each other". He does this by citing the forms *prendia* (3rd) — *queria* (3rd) — *queria* (1st) in an unquestionable *i-a*-assonance, thereby also establishing the accent on *i*. This he had done in

1. Menéndez Pidal: *El Poema de Yûçuf*, Madrid, 1902.

2. Ducamin: *Juan Ruiz*, Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de buen amor*, Toulouse-Paris, 1901.

3. Hanssen, *Ueber die Altspanischen Präterita vom Typus OVE PUDE*, Valparaiso, 1898, pp. 63-65. Baist, in his reviews of these last studies of Hanssen and of that of Porębowicz, which reviews contain also remarks concerning Zauner's criticism of Hanssen (*Krit. Jahrb. d. Rom. Phil.* V, I, 396-403), still maintains the position he had taken in former years, viz. that the accent falls on the first element of the combination.

4. Wien, 1901.

one of his former articles¹. The passage also proves dissyllabic value for the 3rd as well as for the 1st person. The new material offered deals purely with the rime and hence can prove neither accent nor syllabic value, but it does prove beyond question that the 3rd person rimes with the 1st person and with substantives in *-ia*, whatever may have been the accent or syllabic value. He might have added also the rime in *S. D. 73: hermjtanja — sabia* (1st) — *querria* (1st) — *abria* (3rd); and 173 a *E podi-a* (3rd), *IIV podi-e* (3rd). Zauner closes this part of his study with the remarks that follow².

“Aus den hier gesammelten Reimen und Assonanzen geht wohl hervor, dass im Altsp. so wie im Neusp. das *i* der Impf.-Endung den Ton trug, nicht das *e*.

Nun muss allerdings zugegeben werden, dass es eine Anzahl Reime gibt, die für H.'s Theorie zu sprechen scheinen. Es sind folgende:
***[The rimes we have already seen, and a few others, are adduced.]

Zugunsten der Hypothese H.'s lässt sich weiter anführen, dass Reime zwischen 1. und 3., dann zwischen 3. und Substantiven auf *ia*, trotzdem sie, wie oben nachgewiesen wurde, häufig genug vorkommen, gegenüber der Masse der sonstigen Reime auf *ia* doch verhältnismässig selten sind.”

Zauner's most serious objection to Hanssen's paradigm is the difficulty of developing the modern *-ia* forms out of an earlier *ie* type. The position is well taken.

In 1902, Pietsch gave a careful analysis of this problem from the standpoint of both rime and phonetics³. He makes a distinct advance over his predecessors. No one else has produced so many examples in support of the accentuation *ie*, which Hanssen had already proven, although with examples that he himself refused to accept as convincing. He proves, with examples other than those offered by Zauner, that the 3rd *-ia* belonged to the conjugation of Berceo, as well as the form *ie*, a thing that Hanssen had

1. This same position was taken by Ford, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XIV (1899), 15 and 17.

2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

3. Pietsch, Preliminary Notes on Two Old Spanish Versions of the *Disticha Catonis*. Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1902, Appendix I, §§ 1-2, pp. 32-41.

already admitted, with some hesitation. Pietsch's position will be seen from the following quotation¹.

I accept the statement of Suchier (Hanssen, *Ueber d. Altspan. Präterita vom Typus ove, pude*, 1898, p. 61): “-ia [blieb] nur im Auslaut, [wurde] dagegen im Inlaut stets zu *ié*. Also strengphonetisch Sg. *via*, Pl. **viés*”, with this modification, that instead of *ié* I would say “*ie*, later *ié*”; instead of **viés*, “**vies*, later **viés*”. We have, then:

<i>ia</i>	
<i>ías</i>	> <i>ies</i>
<i>iat</i>	> <i>iet</i>
<i>íamos</i>	> <i>íemos</i>
<i>iades</i>	> <i>íedes</i>
<i>ían</i>	> <i>íen</i>

When -*t* had fallen, there could by the side of -*ie* easily develop an -*ia*, a phenomenon which has occurred at different times and in different places.

In spite of the examples cited in support thereof, this explanation of the form 3rd -*ia* (-*iat* > -*iet* > -*ie* > -*ia*) does not seem as logical as the admission of its persistence side by side with the weakened forms in -*ie*, for, with the exception of *dia* < *dic(m)*, none of the examples Pietsch cites seems to have come down to us. Still, whatever his explanation of the various forms, he establishes for Berceo the paradigm 1 -*ia*, 2 -*iés*, 3 -*ia*, -*ié*, 4 -*iémos*, 5 -*iédes*, 6 -*ién*; and claims that of the two forms of the third person the one in -*ia* is always used in caesura and in rime, and the one in -*ié* in all other positions. This claim he makes because, in accord with Hanssen, he insists that the form -*ia* (including the first person) is dissyllabic and that -*ié* etc. are monosyllabic, and that no other syllabic value is admissible for them. As said before, such a contention seems hardly to agree with the facts as we find them in *Santo Domingo*. The paradigm set up for Berceo is correct so far as it goes, and my objection is only to its exclusiveness in denying that any other forms were possible. Pietsch's denial of forms in -*ia* (other than those mentioned, and under the conditions stated) is based on a refusal to

1. *Ib.*, *id.*, p. 38.

grant weight (as Hanssen had done before him) to those manuscripts which produce a consistent paradigm in *-ía*. Furthermore, some of his arguments concerning these forms are based on the theory that synaloepha is permissible, whereas we have just seen (pp. 40-47) that hiatus is obligatory and synaloepha is forbidden, as Hanssen had discerned.

In all these studies we have been slowly advancing toward a recognition of what I believe to be the real state of things.

Hanssen, Gassner and Pietsch prove that there was an Old Spanish paradigm *-ía*, *-ies*, *-ie*, *-íamos*, *-íedes*, *-ien*.

Zauner proves, in agreement with Baist, that there was an Old Spanish paradigm *-ía*, *-ies* $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} -ie, \\ -ía, \end{array} \right.$ *-íamos*, *-íedes*, *-ien*.

Hanssen and Pietsch admit as a doublet to their 3rd *-ie* a form *-ía*.

Porębowicz calls attention to the fact that there is much evidence in favor of the forms *-ías*, *-ies*, *-íamos*, *-íamos*, *-ían*, *-ien*.

In our poem we find the following forms¹.

Dissyllabic; accent indeterminable.

1st *-ía*: 175 c, d; 176 c; 229 a.

-ie: [*Milagros* 369 d., *sintie*; 450 b., *serie*]².

2nd *-ías*: $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{While there are no cases in our poem that are indis-} \\ \text{putable, reference to the list of indeterminable verses} \\ \text{-ies: (pp. 11-28) will show many cases that may be} \\ \text{read in this manner.} \end{array} \right.$

3rd *-ía*: 7 a; 337 a; 369 d (all three MSS.); 571 c; 748 a.

-ie: 7 a (vars.); 337 a (vars.); 571 c (vars.); 748 a (var.)¹.

4th *-íamos*: [*Loores* 174 a., *debíamos*.]

-íamos: $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{See the remarks above, concerning the forms} \\ \text{-íades: } \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 2^{\text{nd}} \text{ -ías, -ies.} \end{array} \right. \end{array} \right.$

6th *-ían*: 61 c; 629 c. V *querrian*. [*Milagros* 378 b., *avían*.]

-ien: [*Milagros* 256 c., *traïen*; 355 d., *avien*; 892 c., *dicïen*.]

1. When I have not at hand a form from *Santo Domingo*, I cite from any other early text, preferably, however, from some other work of Berceo.

2. In *Milagros* 499 c, *podrie* may be 1st or 3rd person: in any case it is dissyllabic.

Monosyllabic ; accent indeterminable.

- 1st -ia: [*Duelo* 57 a., *dicia*; *Milagros* 448 c., *sentia*.]
 -ie: [*S. Lor.* 105 c., *querrie*; *Milagros* 450 c., *serie*.]
 2nd -ias: 311 b; 429 d (all three MSS.).
 -ies: 311 b (vars.).
 3rd -ia: 85 b., 172 c.
 -ie: 85 b (MS. II; but MS. V reads *avini*, which proves the accent to have been on the final *i*.) 172 c (vars.).
 4th -iamos: 384 b; 537 d (EH).
 -iemos: 384 b (vars.); 537 d (V).
 5th -iades: 177 c, d (EV); 502 d; 759 d (EV).
 -iedes: 177 c, d (H); 502 d (vars.).
 6th -ian: 87 d; 537 c.
 -ien: 87 d (vars.); 537 c (vars.).

So far as syllabic value is concerned we have, then, the two parallel pairs of paradigms: namely, -ia or -ie with dialysis, and -ia or -ie with synizesis. This shows that the poet was no more restricted in his use of dialysis and synizesis in the cases covered by these parallel verbal schemes than he was in the other cases of juxtaposed vowels.

Although the general question of accent in these cases does not come necessarily within the scope of this study, a few cases of accent must be treated.

According to the forms from the P. C. 275 ff. *prendiu* (3rd), *queria* (3rd), *queria* (1st) in an indubitable *i-a* assonance, we must admit for the 1st and 3rd persons the accentuation on the *i*, and dissyllabic value. If these two persons had that accentuation and syllabic value, it requires no violent effort of the imagination to suppose that the whole tense could be so conjugated. Furthermore, if we grant the freedom of syllabic value that we have just shown for both series there is no valid reason for denying the same liberty of accentuation. We shall thus have four complete paradigms with the accent on *i*, two of them monosyllabic and two of them dissyllabic. Their historic development would be as follows.

ORIGINAL	2 nd STAGE	
-ía	-ie	From these two schemes the poet would get, by syn- izesis, respectively the two following schemes.
-ias	-ies	
-ia	-ie	
-íamos	-iemos	
-iades	-iedes	
-ian	-ien	

According to the evidence the *-ia* forms were never entirely lost. The second stage I would explain along the phonetic lines laid down by Zauner: After tonic *i*, *a* as a final persists, but *a* + cons. becomes *e* or *o*. The 1st person would then, by analogy with the rest of the paradigm, develop a similar form in *-ie*. Out of this second stage, in *-ie* or *-io* we could explain easily the sporadic forms *teni* (*Milagros* 265 a), *avini* (*S. Dom.* 85 b V), and *mordí* (*S. Dom.* 337 d V). From these two pairs of tables, with the accent on *i*, it is easy to explain the modern forms, as Zauner does explain them, as due to the influence of the endings of the imperfect I in unaccented *a*, thus driving out the paradigm in *-ie*.

But this does not exhaust all the possibilities. There are many forms standing at the end of the first or second hemistich. In such cases there are three possible ways of scanning:

$$\left\{ \begin{matrix} -\acute{ia} \\ -ie \end{matrix} \right\} \text{ etc.}, \left\{ \begin{matrix} -ia \\ -ie \end{matrix} \right\} \text{ etc.}, \text{ and } \left\{ \begin{matrix} -i\acute{a} \\ -i\acute{e} \end{matrix} \right\} \text{ etc.}$$

The first two pairs coincide with the paradigms already established. The following forms may be cited in defense of the scheme *-i\acute{a}*, *-i\acute{e}*, etc.

In P. C. 297 *salie* (3rd) stands in an indisputable *\acute{a}*-assonance. The obvious emendation, then, is *salí\acute{a}*. The verse will not allow a decision concerning the syllabic value. Further proof of this accentuation is to be found in the reading of MS. E for *Santo Domingo* 482, where the rime is: *comjan* — *estan* — *cadian* — *entendian*. Still other evidence in favor of this accentuation is to be found in the reading of V for *Santo Domingo* 8 b, and of II for *Santo Domingo* 185 b. V, for *S. Dom.* 8 b, gives the last hemistich as *nonl devinarí\acute{a}* (1st), which makes it necessary to

scan the other three verses respectively as *sabriá* (1st) — *Mariá* — *viá*. II, for *S. Dom.* 185 b, gives the last hemistich as *beuir non podiá* (1st), which in turn makes necessary the scanning of the other four verses (this *copla* has five) as *ujujá* (1st) — *hermjtanjá* — *Mariá* — *mjá*. Cf. page 66 for other citations.

So much for indications of the accentuation *-iá* monosyllabic. The citations in defense of *-ie* monosyllabic, are neither so numerous nor so old, apparently, but I consider them satisfactory, as do also Hanssen, Zauner and Pietsch, who were the first to adduce them. Those that I accept are all from the *Libro de Alejandro*. The cases of rimes with *ie* < *ē* and of rimes with *ie* of the preterit I reject as proving nothing regarding the position of the accent. The satisfactory rimes proving *-ie* monosyllabic are, then: *Alej.* 1467: *prisiemos* — *feziemos* — *seruiemos* — *andaremos*; *Alej.* 2123: *temedes* — *podriedes* — *tenedes* — *sabedes*; *Alej.* 2126: *sabemos* — *ueuiemos* — *auemos* — *feziemos*.

We thus establish the possibility of a pair of paradigms *-iá*, *-ie*. To explain these two series we might start with the one possessing the combination relatively unusual in Spanish, *-ie*. This combination, existing beside the diphthong *ie* < *ē* which had already begun to shift its accent (although as we have seen the new accent had not yet pushed the original accent entirely out of existence), could not avoid being influenced thereby. Hence we should find in the *-ie* endings of the imperfect the same vacillation of accent that we find in the *-ie* diphthong. Since throughout all these various paradigms we have had parity of syllabic and accentual possibilities for the two series in *-ia* and *-ie*, we should naturally expect *-ia* to follow the lead of *-ie* in showing the scheme *-ie*, *-iá* monosyllabic, as it does.

But in two of the rimes that we have examined for proof of the scheme *-iá* monosyllabic (*Santo Domingo* 8 in V, and 185 in II) we have also evidence of the possibility of scanning *iá*, dissyllabic. By the argument of the preceding paragraph, we should expect to find *-ie* as *-iē*, but I have no examples to offer.

This means that the poet was free not only in the use of dialysis and synizesis in the endings of the imperfect II III, but also in the position of the accent, although of course the most frequent forms are those given in my tables.

III. — GREY, LEY, REY.

Intimately connected with the general question of dialysis and synizesis is the problem of the syllabic value of the forms *grey*, *ley*, *rey*. Konrad Hofman, G. Baist and Jules Cornu, each independently, treated these forms and all arrived at the conclusion that they are dissyllabic¹. It was Cornu, however, who attempted to explain the fact phonetically. He attributes the dissyllabic value to the influence of the second *e* and the weakening of the intervocalic guttural, *g*. Instead of starting, as did Diez from **leg*, etc., Cornu starts from *lege*, etc. This type is proven by the forms in the *Fuero Juzgo*, *lee*, etc., which represent *le(g)e*. Cornu then asks whether we shall consider the forms *grey*, *ley*, *rey* as representing the contraction of the -*ee* into *ey*, or as representing parallel forms to *gree*, *lee*, *ree*, in which the second *e* became *i* under the influence of the guttural weakened to *γ*, and correctly decides in favor of the second theory, which explains the forms as dissyllabic, whereas the first suggestion would grant them only monosyllabic value, as did also the theory of Diez. In this positive part of his thesis Cornu is correct: *grey*, *ley*, *rey*, are dissyllabic. *But they are also monosyllabic (by synizesis) whenever the poet needed so to use them.* It would indeed be strange that these three words should form exceptions to the general rule of dialysis and synizesis that we have just found so universally applicable. Baist in his review of Cornu's article adduces the adverb *oy* and the verbal form *sey*, which he correctly puts in the same class phonetically². But in these cases, also, our text shows that the poet was at liberty to count one or two syllables. Cornu's statistics seem to be very much against the theory I advance, but, aside from any other consideration, his lists are not complete. His hypothesis forces him to make

1. I make this statement on the authority of Baist, *l. c.*, but Baist gives no reference for the articles by the other two scholars and I have not found them.

2. Baist, *Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil.* IV (1880), pp. 471-472.

many emendations (some of them indeed not a little violent) to reduce so-called incorrect verses to harmony therewith. Furthermore, a great many verses which he considers as supporting his thesis are in reality directly opposed to it, for he has been able to count them in his favor *only by admitting synaloepha*. We have already seen that synaloepha is not permitted in the *cua-der-na vía*, because, it is directly opposed to the fundamental rule of this artificial kind of poetry, viz., the obligatory hiatus¹. In still other cases the classification of the MSS. weighs against Cornu's position. Cornu says (p. 72 of his article) that his article ought to have been preceded by a study concerning elision in Spanish and Portuguese. If he had been able to make such a study I believe he would not have denied the possibility of monosyllabic value to these forms that are historically dissyllabic. Let us examine the occurrences of these three forms in our poem, as presented in the critical edition².

Grey.

25 c. a prodaua la grey,...	— Indeterminable.
34 b. andando con su grey...	— " "
125 b. beneita la grey....	— " "
266 d. la grey demostraua...	— Two syllables.
494 c. ...la mj grey querida,	— " " ³

Ley.

27 b. los que dela ley uieia...	— One syllable ⁴ .
36 a. Dieron li su cartiella a ley de monaziello;	— One syllable ⁵ .

1. Cornu, *Études de phonologie espagnole et portugaise*, Rom. IX (1880), pp. 71-98.

2. In many cases the forms will be indeterminable either because they stand at the end of a hemistich, or because in the same hemistich there is some other form capable of more than one scansion.

3. E reads: *la mj grey bien querida* (one syllable).

4. Cornu suggested the omission of *los*, but the form is assured by the two MSS. EV, which are not of the same family.

5. The reading from MS. II, which Cornu preferred, is assured by E (not of the same family); but that does not permit the scansion he wished, which rested on the impossible elision between *cartiella* and *a*.

107 <i>a.</i> ...por la Ley bien conplir.	— One syllable ¹ .
144 <i>c.</i> ...njin por leyes falsada ;	— Proves nothing.
323 <i>d.</i> beujr en atal ley...	— Indeterminable.
472 <i>d.</i> ...la ley quebrantades.	— Two syllables.
473 <i>d.</i> esta ley es dada...	— Two syllables ² .
773 <i>d.</i> ...su ley la Christiandat.	— One syllable ³ .

Rey.

14 <i>b.</i> ...el Rey de Magestat,	— One syllable ⁴ .
29 <i>c.</i> David tan noble Rey,...	— Indeterminable.
31 <i>d.</i> el buen Rey delos çielos...	— One syllable ⁵ .
120 <i>a.</i> ...el Rey Celestial	— Indeterminable ⁶ .
127 <i>a.</i> El Rey Don García,...	— Two syllables.
127 <i>b.</i> fijo del Rey Don Sancho,...	— One syllable ⁷ .
130 <i>a.</i> El Rey Don Fernando,...	— Two syllables.
132 <i>a.</i> " Abbat, dixo el Rey,...	— Indeterminable.
136 <i>a.</i> " Rey, diz, merçed te pido,...	— One syllable ⁸ .
140 <i>c.</i> Rey, guarda la tu alma,...	— One syllable ⁹ .
142 <i>a.</i> " Monge, dixo el Rey,...	— Indeterminable.
142 <i>b.</i> de fablar antel Rey,...	— Indeterminable.
144 <i>b.</i> " Rey, dixo, yo enesto...	— One syllable ¹⁰ .
145 <i>a.</i> ... de ti, Rey, so maltrecho.	— One syllable.
145 <i>d.</i> Rey, Dios te defienda,...	— Indeterminable.
146 <i>a.</i> " Monge, dixo el Rey,...	— Indeterminable.
147 <i>a.</i> ...que el Rey menazaua,	— One syllable ¹¹ .
147 <i>d.</i> ...porque el Rey peccaua	— One syllable ¹² .
148 <i>a.</i> " Rey, dixo, mal fazes...	— Two syllables.

1. The readings of HV (one family) give the form as dissyllabic.

2. E reads the form monosyllabic.

3. The reading is assured by all three MSS.

4. Baist, in his review of Cornu's article, very naturally refused the suggestion that Cornu made with considerable hesitation for this verse, and showed its impossibility.

5. HV read the form as two syllables.

6. Contrary to what Cornu says, *Celestial* may be read as three or as four syllables.

7. The reading is assured by all three MSS.

8. The reading is assured by all three MSS.

9. HV read the form as two syllables.

10. The reading is assured by EV.

11. H reads as two syllables.

12. By making elision between *porque el*, Cornu counted *Rey* for two syllables.

150 a. Fablo el Rey e dixo :...	— One syllable ¹ .
151 b. “ Rey, por Dios que me oyas,...	— One syllable ² .
152 c. ..., Rey, del tu sosano,	— Two syllables.
153 b. ..., Rey, njngun poder.	— Two syllables.
154 a. Rey, yo bien te conscio,...	— One syllable ³ .
155 d. nos non podemos, Rey,...	— Indeterminable.
156 a. Yrado fue el Rey,...	— Indeterminable.
158 c. veez que es el Rey...	— Indeterminable.
164 c. demostrali al Rey...	— Indeterminable.
165 a. ...aquel Rey Don Garcia :	— One syllable ⁴ .
167 c. otorgoli al Rey...	— Indeterminable.
168 a. Dixo el Rey : “ Con esto...	— One syllable ⁵ .
169 b. ...el Rey su despagado,	— One syllable ⁶ .
173 a. Non podia el Rey...	— Indeterminable.
174 a. ...“ O Rey, ¿enque contiendes ?	— One syllable ⁷ .
175 a. Rey, tu bien lo saues...	— Two syllables ⁸ .
177 a. “ Monge, dixo el Rey,...	— Indeterminable.
178 a. “ Rey, aquesto me pesa...	— One syllable ⁹ .
179 a. “ Don Monge, diz el Rey,...	— Indeterminable.
180 a. “ Rey, dixo el Monge,...	— Two syllables.
182 c. ...del buen Rey Don Fernando.	— One syllable ¹⁰ .
182 d. Plogo al Rey e dixo,...	— One syllable ¹¹ .
183 a. “ Prior, dixo el Rey,...	— Indeterminable.
184 a. “ Rey, dixo el Monge,...	— Two syllables.
185 e. “ Plaz me, dixo el Rey,...	— Indeterminable.
186 a. ...con el Rey afolgar,	— One syllable ¹² .
199 c. aspiro enel Rey,...	— Indeterminable.
200 a. ...al Rey en coraçon	— One syllable ¹³ .
201 a. El Rey de buen tiento...	— Two syllables.

1. The reading is assured by all the MSS.
2. In HV the form is indeterminable.
3. The reading is assured by EV., although H reads as two syllables.
4. HV read two syllables.
5. HV read two syllables.
6. Reading assured by all three MSS.
7. HV read two syllables.
8. E reads one syllable.
9. HV read two syllables.
10. Reading assured by all three MSS.
11. Cornu granted synaloepha and counted *Rey* as two syllables.
12. HV read two syllables.
13. Cornu admitted synaloepha and counted *Rey* as two syllables.

208 a.	" Rey, dixieron, as nos...	— Two syllables.
213 a.	El Rey don Fernando,...	— Two syllables.
214 d.	bendicho sea Rey...	— Indeterminable.
219 a.	El Rey Don Fernando,...	— Two syllables.
220 a.	El Rey e los pueblos...	— Two syllables.
225 a.	El buen Rey delos Reyes,...	— <i>Rey</i> = 1; <i>Reyes</i> = Proves nothing ¹ .
263 a.	El Rey Don Fernando...	— Two syllables.
268 a.	* Fablo con el Rey,...	— Indeterminable.
271 c.	...al Rey Omnipotent,	— One syllable.
345 b.	al Rey delos cielos,...	— Two syllables.
364 d.	...el Rey Omnipotent.	— One syllable.
368 c.	...del Rey de Magestat.	— One syllable.
392 b.	...el Rey Omnipotente,	— One syllable.
405 d.	dizia: " Ay Rey de Gloria,...	— One syllable ² .
411 b.	" Valas me, Rey de Gloria,...	— One syllable ³ .
456 b.	vn trotero del Rey...	— Indeterminable.
457 a.	...el buen Rey uos saluda,	— One syllable ⁴ .
459 b.	al uos dara el Rey,...	— Indeterminable.
486 c.	...al Rey Devinal.	— Two syllables.
491 c.	...del buen Rey de Gloria.	— Two syllables ⁵ .
505 b.	al Rey e la Reyna,...	— Indeterminable.
506 c.	el Rey e la Reyna,...	— Indeterminable.
507 c.	mas era lo del Rey...	— Indeterminable.
508 d.	mas non sabian del Rey...	— Indeterminable.
511 c.	de Reyes e de Reynas...	— Proves nothing.
603 d.	sy los fiziessen reyes...	— Proves nothing.
733 c.	el buen Rey Don Alfonso...	— One syllable ⁶ .
734 d.	ca del Rey Don Alfonso...	— One syllable.
739 a.	Peso mucho al Rey,...	— Indeterminable.
741 a.	El Rey con la grant ira...	— One syllable ⁷ .
744 c.	...del Rey el su mandado:	— One syllable ⁸ .
746 a.	Enbio lis el Rey...	— Indeterminable.

1. HV read *Rey* — 2; *Reyes* — Indeterminable.

2. The reading *Ay* is assured by all three MSS.

3. The reading *Valas* is assured by all three MSS.

4. The reading is assured by all three MSS.

5. E reads one syllable.

6. The reading is assured by EV, of different families.

7. Reading assured by EV, of different families.

8. Reading assured by EV.

- 747 c. ...el Rey amenazado, — One syllable¹.
777 a. ...al Rey Spiritual. — Two syllables.

As a mere matter of statistics our poem shows 96 cases of these forms (I have tried to collect them all). Four of these are plurals, that prove nothing. There are 22 cases counting as two syllables, 38 counting as one syllable, and 32 that are indeterminable.

We reach, then, the conclusion previously stated, and agree with Hanssen², that the poet was at liberty to use dialysis and synizesis according to his needs in the forms *grey*, *ley*, *rey*.

1. Reading assured by EV.
 2. See pp. 107-108 of this study.
-

CHAPTER V. — DE REBUS VARIIS.

To round out our study of the rules of the *Cuaderna Via* there are several minor matters that deserve at least a passing remark, although none of them needs any extended treatment.

I. — LOST SYLLABLE.

Hanssen expressed the idea that perhaps the poet had the liberty of suppressing, or not counting, the first syllable in a hemistich. I had the same idea myself at the beginning of my study of the *Cuaderna Via* and before I had realized what is the fundamental rule of that poetry¹. But it goes without saying that there can be no 'lost syllable' in a system of poetry whose basic rule is that it is to be sung *á sílabas cuntadas*. Consequently Hanssen was correct in not admitting, in his later article, any such possibility as a 'lost syllable' in the *cuaderna via*². Hanssen's examples show that he had chiefly in mind hemistichs that were catalectic, whereas those I had in mind were mainly hypermetrical. The same rule applies to both classes.

II. — LATIN NOMINATIVES, AND LATIN VERBAL ACCENT.

There are a few survivals of Latin nominatives, so far as accent is concerned, but of course with absolutely no regard for the

1. Such a license was permissible in certain kinds of poetry; Cf. Nebrija, *Gramática Castellana* end of Chap. v, and all of Chap. viii, and ix. (Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de Poetas Líricos Castellanos* V, pp. 57 and 62-68.)

2. Hanssen, *Formacion del Imperfecto* p. 5: "Ademas el poeta tiene la libertad de suprimir la primera sílaba de los hemistiquios." *Id. Sobre la Conju-*

case represented, so far as its construction in the Spanish sentence is concerned.

The accentuation *conféssor* < *confessör* is proven by the verse in the following cases (I do not consider this list as complete): 325 a, 372 d, 390 a, 562 c, 564 d, 580 b, 592 c, 600 c, 601 a, 611 a, 621 a, 625 b, 534 c, 643 c, 663 a, 671 b, 673 a, 730 c, 750 c, 754 c. The accentuation *confessór* < *confessörem* is proven by such cases as 72 d.

The form *démon* < *daemôn* is proven by the verse in such cases as 62 d (EV) and 766 b (EH²V²). Cf. also *S. Mill.* 113 a. The survival of the accusative *demón* < *daemōnem* is shown by the reading of H in 62 d.

There is in our poem one survival of the Latin accentuation of verbs in *-ficar*, as opposed to the Romanic accentuation: it is 534 c, *signjfiquen*, proven by the versification. Hanssen has collected several similar forms from the other works of Berceo¹.

III. — OVERFLOW.

There is no metrical overflow in our poem. The overflow of which I am speaking concerns only the syntax and sense of the passages.

A. — *Overflow between the 1st and 2nd hemistich.*

The most common overflow is of course that which occurs between the two hemistichs of the same verse. I have noticed the following cases²: 98 b; 104 b; 113 c, d; 240 b; 289 a; 294 a; 325 c; 341 b, c, d; 346 b, d; 354 a; 355 d; 357 b; 358 b, d; 360 c; 362 a; 363 c; 367 b; 368 a; 371 c; 372 c; 376 d; 380 b; 387 d; 391 b, d; 392 d; 395 c; 397 d; 398 c; 399 a; 402 a, b, d; 403 d; 404 d; 406 d; 408 a; 417 c; 422 c;

gacion del Libre de Apolonio, p. 4: "Engañado por ciertas particularidades de los versos de arte mayor, he pensado en otro tiempo *** que Berceo tenia la libertad de suprimir la primera sílaba de los hemistiquios. Este era un error."

1. Hanssen, *Conj. de Gonz. de Berceo*, p. 3.

2. No attempt has been made to have the following lists complete.

434 d; 449 b, c; 478 d; 481 c; 483 d; 486 b; 492 a; 508 d; 513 b; 523 d; 526 d; 533 c; 549 a; 559 c; 568 d; 583 b; 586 b; 592 c; 595 c; 619 a, d; 627 d; 637 d; 644 b; 651 c; 684 b; 705 d; 707 d; 712 b; 730 c, d; 735 d; 754 b; 756 a, b, c; 773 d; 774 a.

B. — *Overflow between two verses.*

There is a fairly long list of occurrences of overflow at the end of a verse, although of course this overflow occurs much less frequently than the one just examined. I have noticed the following cases: 65 b-c; 76 c-d; 226 c-d; 233 b-c; 276 a-b; 276 c-d; 288 a-b; 304 a-b; 323 c-d; 337 c-d; 339 a-b; 345 a-b; 347 a-b; 366 c-d; 405 a-b; 406 a-b; 442 c-d; 469 c-d; 478 a-b; 478 b-c; 542 b-c; 547 c-d; 607 c-d; 630 b-c; 687 a-b; 687 c-d; 703 a-b; 703 b-c; 708 a-b; 713 c-d; 723 c-d; 727 a-b.

C. — *Overflow between couplets.*

The overflow that we should expect to find least of all is naturally that between two couplets. As a matter of fact I have noticed only two such cases, but they are both unquestionable: 127-128 and 754-755.

IV. — *ENCADENAMIENTO OF COUPLETS.*

Another habit that the poet indulged occasionally, and which, so long as it did not recur too often, was not without a certain charm, is what the Spaniards have chosen to call *encadenamiento de coplas*, enchaining, or linking together, of couplets. This consists in repeating, in the first or second verse of one couplet, some part of the fourth, or third, verse of the preceding couplet. I have noticed the following cases: 1-2; 373-374; 410-411; 488-489; 504-505; 533-534; 632-633; 637-638. This little artifice seems to have been used more often in the *Duelo de la Virgen* than in any other poem of our author¹.

1. Sánchez, *Col. de Poesías Cast. ant. al siglo XV*, Madrid 1780, vol. II, p. XVI.

V. — RIME.

In our poem we have real rime. Assonance, without consonance, is never admitted, except in the cases of an acute vocalic rime, or a grave vocalic rime in which there is no intervocalic consonant. The rime is not at all concerned with the vowel, semivowel, or consonant that may *precede* the *accented rime vowel*. From, and including, the rime vowel to the end of the verse we must always have full rime. Of course there should be no repetition of a rime word in the same sense, although occasionally the poet (or perhaps the copyists) have fallen into that fault, as in 294. On the same grounds we should not expect a sequence of two couplets on the same rime. In our poem, however, we find no less than twenty one such pairs of couplets (not to mention one sequence of three couplets on the same rime), and these, I think, must be attributed to the poet himself.

Following is the list of these pairs of couplets on the same rime. 75-76 (-át); 186-187 (-ár); 207-208 (-ádo); 254-255 (-ádo); 304-305 (-ón); 308-309 (-ádo); 341-342 (-ár); 465-466 (-ádo); 486-487 (-ál); 521-522 (-ór); 543-544 (éron); 559-560 (-ír); 630-631 (-ádo); 665-666 (-ádo); 668-669 (-ádo); 699-700 (-áda); 702-703 (-ádos); 710-711 (-ádo); 716-717 (-át); 750-751 (-ia *or* -á); 754-755 (-émos). The one case of three couplets on the same rime is 167-168-169 (-ádo).

VI. — ASSONANCE.

In the preceding section I stated that assonance pure and simple, as distinguished from rime, or consonance, is not permitted in the *cuaderna vía*. Sánchez raises this question and treats it very sanely¹. As a matter of fact, there were, in the edition Sánchez had of our poem, several cases where consonance, to the eye at

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. XV-XVI.

least, did not exist. The majority of them still stand in the new edition. They are as follows.

80. *lazerio* — *remedio* — *medio* — *comedio*.

Sánchez considers that possibly *lazerio* was pronounced *lazedio*. In any case three of the four verses give perfect rime.

81. *premja* — *liçençia* — *obediencia* — *potencia*.

This reading was not in Sánchez's text. It was forced on me by the classification of the MSS., EII agreeing in the erroneous reading *premja*. The correct reading, so far as the rime is concerned, is that of V, *penitencia*. This gives perfect rime for the couplet¹.

105. *benedicto* — *uicto* — *fito* — *çatico*.

To the eye it seems as though two of these four verses do not rime. As a matter of fact, however, the first three lines probably *did* rime, for there is every likelihood that the learned forms with *-ct-* were pronounced without the *-c-*; we have then to account only for the last verse.

228. *famjliares* — *logares* — *Reglares* — *retrayades*.

Here, too, we have but one verse that does not rime. Possibly it we had more manuscripts, one of them would give a reading with rime in the last verse.

267. *ministerio* — *precio* — *çiminterio* — *monesterio*.

The same general remark applies to this couplet, where there is likewise but one unrimed verse.

277. *bencito* — *reçebido* — *sabrido* — *cunplido*.

To the eye this is not a rime, but it may have been to the ear, for we do not know to what extent the *t* and *d* were differentiated in Berceo's time, if indeed they were at all differentiated.

1. See chap. v of my edition.

352. esqujuos — ujuos — captiuos — bodigos.

Here again we have but one verse that does not rime.

670. gradesco — aparezco — guarezco — offrezco.

This too is not a rime to the eye, but it may have been to the ear, for the pronunciation of *-sc-* and of *-zc-* at the time of Berceo was probably like the English *-shk-*.

Sánchez mentions one other case of lack of rime. It so stood in the edition that he used.

190. quantos — sanctos — mantos — fartos.

My edition reads

190. quantos — sanctos — mantos — cantos.

The correct rime for the fourth verse was found in MS.E. I have already remarked about the pronunciation of the learned forms in *-ct-*.

There was still another case of lack of rime in the edition of Vergara, used by Sánchez, but Sánchez does not mention it in his prologue.

23. posada — vellada — entraba — fincada.

My edition reads

23. posada — uellada — entrada — fincada.

The correct rime for the third verse stands in the two MSS. EII, which do not belong to the same family.

From the foregoing, I consider that assonance was not permitted to the poets of the *cuaderna vía* and that all the verses of each couplet should rime.

VII. — COUPLETS OF FIVE VERSES.

In the *Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos* as Vergara gave it to us there were four couplets of five verses : 167, 185, 509, and

510. My edition eliminates two of these cases: 167 and 509. This leaves but two cases in the whole poem. This proportion is so low (and in the other poems of our author it is also very low) and the existence of five verses to the couplet is so contrary to the idea of a poetry *per la cuaderna vía*, that I believe that more manuscripts of Berceo's works would eliminate other cases and show us that Berceo really wrote only four verses to the couplet.

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APPENDIX.

In this appendix we shall examine the various categories and rules set up by Hanssen concerning the use of synizesis and dialysis, especially such as are supported by citations from our poem. The passages examined are taken from Hanssen's *Miscelánea de Versificación Castellana*.

On page 18 in the last four lines we read : “ *La combinación io forma diptongo, si es terminacion inacentuada: *** cirios M. 734, 2, b (el hemistiquio S. D. 553, 3, b de cirios cabdales es defectuoso).* ” There is no necessity for considering the hemistich catalectic. The form *cirio* comes to us direct from the Latin *CĒRĒUM*, which, as we have seen, might be counted a dissyllable, by synizesis, or a trisyllable, by dialysis, according to the need of the poet. Here the admission of dialysis makes Berceo's verse correct. In 403 b. of our poem the form must be read with synizesis, as in the passage cited by Hanssen from the *Milagros*. In this same passage Hanssen reads correctly *sucio*, S. D. 698 c, as two syllables only.

On page 19 first few lines we read : “ *La combinación io forma diptongo, si es terminacion de la tercera persona de singular del pretérito: *** prometio S.D. 371, 4, b. Dió es monosilábico *** S.D. 307, 4, a, etc.; mientras que el pretérito de veer es vio.* ” The difference between *dió* < *DĒDIT*, with a short *é*, and *vio* < *VĪDIT*, with a long *i*, indicates the tendency, as does also the habit in the older language of counting often *embi-ó* (S. D. 117 a, 331 b, 482 a, 746 a), *abreui-ó* (S. D. 304 b according to the readings of HV, whereas E gives *abrenjó*, the ending *-jó* counting

for but one syllable), *renunci-ó* (S. D. 55 b according to the readings of HV, whereas E gives *abrenunçió*, in which *-ió* can be counted for but one syllable) as compared with the modern usage as described by Salvá, in his discussion of the verbs in *-iar* and *-uar*¹.

A little farther down, Hanssen admits both monosyllabic and dissyllabic value to the form *Dios*. I agree with him and the examples from other texts tend to prove his statement to be correct, but the dissyllabic example from S. D. 322, 1, a, must be eliminated. The correct reading, according to the sense, is to be found in E and we have.

Señor, sy Dios lo quiere, tal es mj uoluntat,

in which *Dios* can count for but one syllable. The other manuscripts give a corrupt reading without the word *sy*, which is required by the sense. In our poem, however, there are cases to prove that Berceo used either syllabic value according to his need. *Deum*, 210 d, counts for two syllables. *Deo*, in 219 d counts for one syllable, and in 288 a it counts for two, whereas in 110 c it counts for one syllable or two according to the syllabic value we assign to *fue*. *Dios*, in 78 a, 192 c, and 204 b, counts for two syllables according to the reading of H; and in 288 c it counts for two syllables according to the reading of E². In the following verses the text of my edition shows *Dios* as one or two syllables according to the syllabic value given to some other word in the hemistich: 145 d, 213 a, 221 d, 244 d, 288 a.

Further down on page 19 Hanssen cites correctly *prioria*, 168 c, as giving the combination *io* the value of two syllables; likewise the same combination in *violento*, 262 c, with the same value. He has also cited to the same purpose *prior*, Milagros 79 b. Manuscript E shows *prior* as a monosyllable in 124 b, and in the same passage manuscript H shows it as one or two

1. Salvá, *Gramática*, p. 382. "En los demas tiempos y personas estos mismos verbos contraen el diptongo como los otros en *iar*, pues *vació*, por ejemplo, es de dos sílabas, y *vaciaba*, *vaciare* de tres, lo mismo que *ferió*, *feriaba*, *feriaré*."

2. I cite the readings of the separate manuscripts only when in themselves they make correct sense and seem to me to be correct metrically.

syllables according to the value attributed to another word in the hemistich. In the same class with the word *violento* (the combination *io* being in pretonic position) we may place *lisionado*; yet *violento* shows the combination as two syllables (262 c) and *lisionado* shows it as one syllable (549 a, and 639 d).

On page 20, Hanssen treats the combination *ia*, and says that the combination counts for two syllables every time the tonic accent falls on the *i*. Among other forms to support that statement he cites *dia* from Milagros 52 c. This form occurs in our poem as a dissyllable, 514 a, and as a monosyllable, 217 b. A form presenting exactly the same general conditions is the proper name *Maria*. In 57 a all the manuscripts agree in giving the combination *ia* in *Maria* the value of one syllable. Furthermore, the second hemistich of 69 a reads

*** e *cadia* *fria elada*

in which the combination *ia* both in the verb and in the noun can count for but one syllable. And again in the first hemistich of 89 d. MSS. HV agree in the scansion of *villania* as three syllables, thus counting the ending *-ia* for but one.

In section three of page 20, we read: "*La combinacion ia se contrae, si es terminacion inacentuada: *** limpia (= limpida) S. D. 326, 3, b, suzias (= sucidas) S. D. 334, 4, b. Se exceptúan las frases latinas *** gloria tibi Domine S. D. 567, 4, a.*" The citations agree with the readings of the critical text.

In section four of page 20 we read. "*En cuanto a las demas palabras, el poeta se inclina tanto mas a contraer la combinacion, cuanto mas tienen carácter castellano, i se inclina a disolverla, cuanto mas tienen carácter latino.*" Then he proceeds to give a series of special rules: "*a) Se contrae la combinacion ordinariamente en los verbos terminados en iar, ***. Se exceptúa abreviar S. D. 133, 3, a.*" But manuscript E offers a better reading for this passage, and requires *abreviar* to be so read as to count *iar* for but one syllable. The readings of HV are not incorrect and the scansion as Hanssen gives it is perfectly permissible. Further down he continues his list of special rules and we read: "*c) Se disuelve la combinacion en diablo M. 86, 1, a. *** patriarchas*

S. D. 27, 1, a, Diago S. D. 626, 3, a, diacono S. D. 629, 3, a, ***". The form *diablo* is correctly cited from the Milagros. But in the edition that Hanssen used he would have found S. D. 17 d. *diablo* counting for but two syllables. The manuscripts EH, however, give this same passage with *diablo* as three syllables. *Diago* from S. D. 626 c (MS. E reads *Diego*) will count for two or three syllables according to the syllabic value granted to the form *auja* (HV *avie*) in the same hemistich. The other citations agree with the critical edition.

In the last paragraph from which I have just quoted, I omitted the last two citations because they were not from our poem. They are not without interest, however, and we may look at them a moment before leaving the combination *ia*. The forms are *piadat* M. 98 b, and *piadoso* M. 33 c, in both of which cases the combination *ia* counts for two syllables. So it does in the derived verb form *empiadassen* S. D. 749 c; but in *empiada* (the same verb) San Millan 159 c the combination counts for but one syllable.

On pages 22 and 23 Hanssen treats the combination *ie* and we read, at the beginning of the passage: "1) *La combinacion ie se disuelve cada vez que el acento carga sobre la i*: *guie* S. D. 474, 4, a, ***" The syllabic value of *guie* in this verse depends on the syllabic value attributed to the word *Dios* in the same hemistich. Probability favors the interpretation of Hanssen, but that is as far as the facts allow us to go, and we must recognize the possibility of reading otherwise.

We find furthermore, page 22, the statement: "3) *La combinacion ie forma diptongo, si es terminacion inacentuada*: *Kiries* S. 34 3, a. *Lo mismo sucede en formas verbales como* *** *cobdicie* (= *cobdicié*) S. D. 100, 1, a." The citations correspond with the critical edition. We may compare with *cobdicie*, as cited, the form *Diego* (E 626 c) which gives the combination *ie* as one or two syllables according to our manner of reading another word in the same hemistich. It is to be noted, too, that in *cobdicie* the combination *-ie* is not an unaccented ending.

In the next paragraph we read: "4) *Las formas mie, mies* S. M. 19, 4, a, D. 28, 2, a, *die* S. D. 139, 4, a, *las ha introducido tal vez un copista*." The form *die*, as cited by Hanssen, reads as a monosyllable (as do the other two forms); the MSS.

EH agree in giving the reading *dia* as a dissyllable. The most natural emendation in V (if we needed to make one) would be the contraction of *de el* into *del*. This would require *die* to be read as a dissyllable.

On page 23 we read: "6) *En palabras literarias se disuelve ordinariamente la combinacion*: *** *obediencia* S. D. 90, 2, a. *** *piadat* S. D. 589, 3, b, ***. *Se esceptúan* *suciedat* M. 549, 4, b, *suziedumne* S. M. 371, 3, b." The form *piadat* stands in the edition of Janer but does not stand in any of the manuscripts. E reads *piadat* and HV *piadat*. The combination *ia* (or *ie*, as Hanssen had the right to read, since he had no better text) counts as two syllables.

At the bottom of page 23 Hanssen treats the combination *iu* and we read: "1) *La combinacion se disuelve en fiuzante* S. D. 574 1, a. (*fiuza* = *fiduciam*, *feuza* S. D. 610, 3, a), *fiuzado* S. D. 339, 3, b, (*feduzada* S. D. 688, 4, b). *Parece que viudas* D. 174, 4, b *es de tres silabas, existe tambien la forma bebdá* S. M. 220, 4, a." The reference for *fiuzante* should be to the last line of the couplet. MS. E reads *feduzante*. MSS. EH read *fiuza*, MS. V *feuza* in 610 c, and the combinations *iu* and *eu* count for two syllables in all the manuscripts. HV agree on *fiuzado*, E gives *feuzado* in 339 c; and all readings count the combinations as two syllables. MSS. EV agree on the reading *feduzada*, 688 d. The line is lacking in H. Beside these forms we may cite 298 d. In E the reading gives *desfeuzada* in which the combination *eu* must be read as one syllable. MSS. HV agree in giving *desfiuzada*, and the rest of the hemistich in these two MSS. makes necessary the admission of the combination *iu* as two syllables. In addition to the vacillating usage recognized by Hanssen for the form *viuda* we may cite the various readings for 128 c: E *biuda* (*iu* as one syllable), H *biubda* (*iu* as one syllable), and V *vidua*¹.

1. Bello: *Opúsculos gramaticales* (Col. de Escrit. cast. Madrid, 1890) I, p. 225, has an interesting statement concerning the form *viuda*.

"De los diptongos acentuados *úu*, *iu*, aunque no tienen nada de contrario á la índole de la lengua castellana, no conozco ejemplos en dicciones que verdaderamente pertenezcan á ella. (Se notó arriba la acentuación de *viuda* (*vinda*) en algunos versos de Tirso de Molina. Esta dicción se usa hoy generalmente como

On page 24, Hanssen treats of the combination *oi* and we read: "1) *La combinacion se disuelve si el acento carga sobre la i*: *** *oi* (*pretérito*) *M.* 222, 2, *b*, *** *Se exceptúa coyta* *S. D.* 223, 3, *a*, (*cueita* *S. D.* 295, 1, *a*, *cueta* *S. D.* 311, 4, *a*, ***)." The citation of the preterit form *oi* from the Milagros is correct; but beside it we may put the form of the imperative fifth person *oyt*, *S. D.* 201 c. According to the critical edition this form can count for but one syllable, and according to the text that Hanssen made use of the same syllabic value was necessary, for the MSS. EV agree in this passage. The reading of H, however, gives to the form a value of two syllables: We should perhaps expect the form *coytas* (*cueita*, *cueta*), not to show dissyllabic value for the combination *oi*, given its probable etymology: deverbal noun from *coitar* <*cōclāre < cōctum <*cōcēre for cōquēre. The *i* of the combination *oi* represents the vocalization of the supported consonant *c*. Still, the cases of *mui* dissyllabic (< *multum*), where the *i* of the combination *ui* represents the vocalization of the supported consonant *l*, are so numerous that we should probably be justified in admitting such a possibility for *coitar*, although I have no examples to offer. Furthermore it is not likely that at Berceo's period the accent had shifted exclusively to its present position on the *i*. The forms with triphthong *uei* were probably due to false analogy with derivatives of *cōgītāre, in which the triphthong was justified. Hanssen's next section, on the same combination, reads: "2) *La oi inacentuada se*

disílaba, aunque en verso es á menudo de tres sílabas, pero siempre con el acento en la u.) "

The form *viuda* in the early Spanish poetry stands in assonance with *villa* etc.; consequently it cannot originally have been accented *viída*, nor does such accentuation correspond to its etymon *viúam*. The shift of accent is a later, although possibly very early, development and corresponds with the shift in the verb *cuidar* <*cōgītāre: cōcīto> *cúeido*, *cúido*, *cuido*. In the romance de *Abenamar* we find *viuda* in assonance with *quería*.

Casada soy, rey don Juan,
casada soy, que no *viuda*;
el moro que á mí me tiene
muy grande bien me *quería*.

Primavera y flor de Romances p. p. F. Wolf y C. Hofmann, Berlin 1856, I, p. 254. So the accentuation mentioned for Tirso is etymological.

disuelve: *** *Se exceptúa coidar* S. D. 581, 3, b (cuido S. D. 581, 4, b). " These two citations from our poem are exact, but in the first one *coidar*, 581 c, must be read, as three syllables not only in the critical edition, but also in the edition from which Hanssen cites it as proof of the contraction of the combination *oi*. The second citation supports his position, but it happens that none of the MSS. gives the combination *oi* in this passage: E *cuydo*, H *cuido*, V *cuido*. The combination *oi* does stand, however, and counts for but one syllable, in the form HV *coidades* (E *cuydades*), S. D. 93 d. The third class in this combination reads as follows: " 3) *El adverbio oy se disuelve* (*** S. D. 97, 1, b. ***) *i se contrae* ***. *Prevalecen las formas disueltas. Con el imperativo oy sucede probablemente lo mismo, pero he anotado solamente formas disueltas.* " This statement shows correctly the vacillating usage of the poet.

At the bottom of page 24 we find the treatment of the combination *ai* and read: " 1) *La combinacion ai es de dos sílabas cada vez que el acento carga sobre la i*: *** *raiz* M. 38, 3, a. " It is true that, in the passage cited, *raiz* counts for two syllables, but in *Loores* 7 c, of the same edition that Hanssen used, the form counts for but one syllable. In the first three examples cited by Hanssen in his second category the *i* is due, so to speak, to umlaut and we should not necessarily expect to find it with full syllabic value: *repaire*, deverbal noun from *repairar* < *rēpātriāre*; *fraire* < *fratrem*; *donaire* < *dōnārium*. In the last example he cites, viz., *laydos*, we have apparently a root-diphthong, since the etymology is the Old Germanic *laid*. Such being the case, the form would enter the same class with Latin root-diphthongs like *au*, and would be incapable of dissolution into two syllables. Hanssen's remaining classes indicate the vacillating usage of the poet.

Hanssen's treatment of the combination *ei*, although divided into four classes (of which the second corresponds to the class I have explained as umlaut in the preceding paragraph), gives on the whole the correct idea as to the vacillating usage of Berceo and he concludes with " *Vista la falta de estabilidad en toda la prosodia del poeta, i vista la analogia de oy, ay, fuy, muy* ***, *creo que Gonzalo contraia o disolvía las formas sey, rey, grey, ley como casualmente le convenia mas.* " This last statement, con-

cerning the much disputed forms *rey*, *grey*, *ley*, is correct, as may be seen in chapter iv, section iii.

The combination *ui* is treated on page 26, and we read: "1) *La combinación ui es de dos sílabas en *** destruido S. M. 281, 3, b. *** A veces hai que escribir destrucho en lugar de destruido: S. D. 739, 4, b.*" This last suggestion is not necessary, since many Spaniards would without hesitation read the *ui* of *destruido* as one syllable, if the meter so required. The remainder of the treatment, although divided into three classes may be virtually summed up in the statement of vacillation on the part of the poet.

In Hanssen's treatment of the combination *ue*, we read in the third of his four classes (page 27): "*No se disuelve el diptongo de fue M. 19, 4, b. fueron S. D. 27, 1, b.*" True: but in the same edition on which Hanssen based his study we read *Signos* 34 c

Mas fuestes tan cruos que non me diestes nada:

in which *fuestes* must count the combination *ue* as two syllables. This corresponds, furthermore, to the possibilities of its etymon. In the last of his four classes for this combination we read: "*Se disuelve la combinación en *** crueza J. 34, 4, a.*" True: but in the same edition we may read *Duelo* 33 c not only

Facien mui grant cru-eza...

but also

Faci-en mui grant crueza ..

and

Facien mu-i grant crueza...

thus having two chances for monosyllabic value in the combination against one for the dissyllabic value. Furthermore in *Signos* 34d we have either

I-o la vuestra crueza...

or

Io la vuestra cru-eza.

Concerning Hanssen's treatment of *ua* (in four classes), *uo* (in two classes), and *au* (in two classes), given on pages 27 and 28, there is nothing of importance to be said.

The combinations *eo*, *ea*, *ae*, *oa*, and *ao* are treated in a single group (each combination occupying a separate class) on page 28, and Hanssen says that they all of them count for two syllables. He finds in the *Milagros* 886c the form *Teodora*, which he recognizes as contradicting his rule and offering the combination *eo* as one syllable. For the combination *ea* as two syllables he cites, among other correct forms, *sea*, *Milagros* 310 b. The form stands at the end of the hemistich and is, consequently, indeterminable. In *S. D.* 96 b we have the form *sea* as a dissyllable and in *S. D.* 714 d we have the form in such a position that there are three possible scansions two of which (and one of them the most natural reading of all) make *sea* monosyllabic:

...non sea yo mal tra-ido.
...non sea y-o mal traido.

(with this orthography of the pronoun this second scansion is unlikely) and

...non se-a yo mal traido.

As will be seen, the first scansion is the most probable and grants to *sea* only monosyllabic value. To these examples we may add *leal*. In *S. D.* 245 c, in the edition Hanssen used as well as in the critical edition, the combination *ea* in *leales* can count for but one syllable. In *S. D.* 288 a the form may be read as a monosyllable or a dissyllable, according to the value assigned to *Dios* in the same hemistich. In *S. D.* 464 c EII read *leal* as one syllable, while V shows it as two. In *S. D.* 762 b all the MSS. read *leal* as one syllable. In *S. D.* 102 c E reads *coccar*, and HV read *cocce-ar*.

On the bottom of page 28 and the top of page 29, Hanssen treats his last category, the combinations *ee*, *aa*, and *oo*, and says that these combinations are dissyllabic. In *S. D.* 204 d we have *seer* monosyllabic. In *S. D.* 406 d we have the following readings:

E podria seer bien ligero...
H podrie ser bien leue...
V podrie ser bien lieve...

The two citations *Aaron*, M. 41, 2, b, and *loores*, S. D. 588, 4, b, are not conclusive since in each case the scansion of the word in question depends on the syllabic value attributed to some other word in the hemistich.

If we add all these cases, in which I have been able to show vacillation in the usage of the poet, to the many cases in which Hanssen admitted vacillation, we shall reach the conclusion that so many different categories are not necessary and that we are nearer the real state of things when we say that the poet was practically unhampered in his use of dialysis and synizesis¹.

1. For further proof see the long and interesting series of citations from poets and prosodians of various periods in Rodríguez Marín, *Barahona de Soto*, Madrid, 1903, pp. 406-413.

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